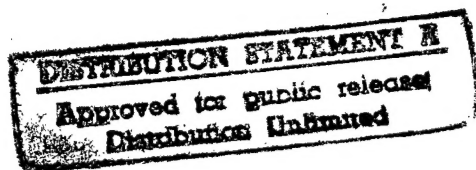


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1 NOVEMBER 1986

East Europe Report



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1 NOVEMBER 1986

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ECONOMY

ALBANIA

PLANNING CHIEF REVIEWS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 5 Jul 86 pp 1, 2

[Article: "The Party Line and Economic Policy Embodied in Every Number," an interview with Niko Gjyzari, chairman of the State Planning Commission]

[Text] The draft directives of the 9th Party Congress for the development of the economy and culture of the Albanian People's Socialist Republic in the 8th 5-year period (1986-1990), which were announced yesterday in the press, are a magnificent program of our Party and people for the rapid economic-social development of the country.

The magnitude of the tasks which we have set for ourselves this 5-year period becomes more apparent when we consider that our country is developing and progressing at a rapid pace at a time when the capitalist and revisionist world is enveloped in a deep and universal crisis, by stagnation, continual decline of production, by inflation, unemployment and the worsening of the standard of living of the working masses.

The projections of the 8th draft 5-year plan testify to the great power of Marxist-Leninist ideas, to the correctness of the general line and the economic policy of the Party, to the vitality and superiority of our socialist order, to the stability and uninterrupted development of the economy and of the sound and revolutionary internal situation of our country.

During the 7th 5-year period new steps were taken toward the uninterrupted and all-round development of the country. Industrial production increased by 26 percent in comparison with the preceding 5 years. More than 267,000 tons of bread grains were produced. Also during this period about 300 important works were constructed and put into operation, and 80,000 new residential apartments and houses were built in town and countryside. Education, culture, health, science, etc. scored new advances. But however concrete these numbers are they cannot fully express the great mobilization of our workers and their achievements in all fields. Anyway, all these serve as a base of experience for the future. And, just as it is said in the draft directives of the 9th Congress of the Albanian Workers Party, the struggle remains an eternal task "to open an ever broader road for the utilization of the great potential and reserves which our socialist economy has and creates in the country's rapid progress in the years of the 8th 5-year period."

Our Party and people are proud of the objectives which they set for themselves in the 8th 5-year period. These open miraculous new perspectives for a high rate of development of the economy, for the increase of the material well-being and cultural level of the working masses, and the strengthening of the defensive capability of the fatherland, depending on the human, material, financial and foreign exchange resources which our country has and creates without any foreign aid or credit whatever.

The 8th draft 5-year plan is drawn up on the basis of the guidelines of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and the instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia. It is a result of several years of creative and scientific work by broad working masses and by state and economic organs.

The tasks set for accomplishment in all branches of material production and other social activities during this 5-year period are based on deep scientific and all-round studies guaranteed by the material-technical base which is possessed and which we shall strengthen further. They are also based on the country's natural resources, on the great creative techno-scientific skills of our workers, on the great patriotism of the people, on the unwavering love and confidence in the teachings of the Party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha. Our entire population is convinced that in the established conditions it is up to us alone, our heart, mind and work, to seize those heights which are designated in the tentative proposals.

The draft directives of the 9th Party Congress for the country's economic-social development set before our workers the necessity of the most detailed understanding of the tasks of the 8th draft 5-year plan for the purpose of increasing the degree of mobilization and the sense of responsibility for their fulfillment.

This requirement is closely linked with the ensuring of a normal progress of expanded socialist reproduction, with the fulfillment one by one of all the tasks of the plan in each branch and sector of the economy. Every nonfulfillment would lead to the destruction of the relationships established between the branches and the different indices of development of the economy, to the creation of hindrances in different connecting structures, to the nonachievement of the anticipated effectiveness of the social product, which would also have a negative influence on the fulfillment of the program of investments for increasing the welfare of the masses and the strengthening of the country's defenses. These problems, which were forcefully emphasized by Comrade Ramiz Alia in the 15th plenum of the Party Central Committee, should be kept well in mind during the entire process of the discussion by the people of the draft directives presented by the organs of the Party, of the government and of the economy, and measures should be taken that these great problems, these reciprocal ties which stand at the foundation of the 8th 5-year plan, should be thoroughly understood by the communists, cadres, specialists, workers and cooperative members.

As the draft directives indicate, the increase of social production foreseen in the 8th 5-year plan as against the 7th 5-year plan, for the 5 years taken

together, will be equal to the country's social product realized during the entire 2nd 5-year plan. This requires the maximal mobilization of the potential and the reserves of our economy, and as never before, enforcement everywhere of the regiment of frugality, which must be the order of the day during the entire 5-year plan.

The tasks designated for every branch and subdivision of the economy express the economic policy of the Party, indicate the needs which the people and the economy have for different products. The realization of these in quantity, variety and quality is necessary for the fulfillment of the plan in all its targets. Therefore the duty is assigned that these matters must be understood well, they must be clarified and expressed to the utmost, with full measure and accurate accounting.

The general characteristic of our economy during the 8th 5-year period is the deepening of its intensive development. This appears in all the branches and sectors of the economy. In industry about 74 percent of the production increase will be assured by better utilization of the production skills in use and by the reconstruction, expansion and modernization of existing enterprises. In agriculture the major part of the production increase will come from increasing the yields of agricultural crops and increasing the productivity of livestock. The synthesis of this intensification is the increase of the social productivity of work, by which 43 percent of the increase of social production will be assured, also the reduction of the cost by means of which 61 percent of the increase of the enterprise's net income must be achieved.

Within the branches of industry priority will be given to the development of energy, the extraction and processing of ores, light industry, the food industry, so as to lead the way and to support all the economic-social development of the country. The realization of the tasks set in the draft directives requires a correct evaluation and a great and continual care that the necessary measures be taken by all the links of management for the rational and highly productive exploitation of the material-technical base. Also a way must be found to utilize the reserves which exist in order that production skills be attained and surpassed in ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, in the machine and chemical industry, in construction material, in wood and paper, in the branches of industry producing consumer goods.

The Party economic policy for the development of agriculture in the 8th 5-year plan will aim for the consolidation of achievements and a accelerated progress in increasing grains and, especially, livestock products. For the achievement of objectives in agriculture the Party will continue to follow the path of harmonizing intensive and extensive development.

The building and reconstruction of many important projects which will be completed with our forces alone, upon which a good part of the increase of the social product is based, require that attention be drawn strongly to the taking of necessary measures for the shortening of deadlines for putting works into operation, the reduction of the cost of building, and the stimulation of the creative thought of workers and technicians for reducing the import of machinery and of equipment which can be produced in the country.

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The draft directives provide for great but fully realizable tasks for increasing the output of work, reducing the cost and improving the quality of the products. On this basis are stipulated also the necessary proportion between the product for oneself and the product for society, between the increase of consumer funds for raising the welfare of the working masses and the creation of the necessary funds for the expanded socialist accumulation and reproduction and for financing the development of nonproductive sectors such as education, culture, health, etc.

The 15th plenum of the Party Central Committee emphasized that the work done up to now in drawing up the draft directives of the 8th 5-year plan must be intensified during the great popular discussion of the draft directives of the 9th Party Congress. All efforts must be made so that the discussion will be as effective and rational as possible, avoiding everything formal and any inattentiveness. This thought must lead the Party organizations, the economic and state organs, the mass organizations, in the center, the districts and at headquarters. Likewise the discussion should serve to increase the mobilization and enthusiasm of the masses, the spirit of activism to realize and surpass the tasks of the plan for 1986.

At present for more than six months we have worked and struggled to realize the tasks of the 8th 5-year plan. Since the beginning of the year in response to the instructions given by Comrade Ramiz Alia during the visits which he made to certain districts of the country and in the meeting for presenting the baton of youth activism, everywhere he has had a great mobilization of workers. This mobilization was stimulated and elevated to a yet higher level by the decision of the 14th plenum of the Central Committee of the Albanian Labor Party for the convocation of its 9th Congress. The plans are being realized and surpassed in many branches, districts and enterprises. Many worker collectives have pushed ahead the pledges which they had made at the beginning of the year and with the method of revolutionary activism they are struggling for their fulfillment.

Currently facing these very pressing tasks are the Party organs and organizations, the organs of the government and of the economy, the mass organizations and all workers. But just as the 15th plenum of the Party Central Committee also expressed its deep conviction, we have all the potential and our forces are sufficient to realize them with success. Therefore, and more powerfully than every before, there will explode, everywhere, revolutionary vigor, creative work and struggle so as to go to the 9th Party congress and the 45th anniversary of its founding with tasks fulfilled in all fields.

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ECONOMY

HUNGARY

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE PRESIDENT ON EXPANDING FOREIGN TRADE TIES

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 10 Jun 86 p 9

[Article by Peter Lorincze, General Secretary of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce: "Preparing for a More Active Role"]

[Text] In a few days the seventh general meeting of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce will convene to report on the events that took place in the organization since 1981. The report, as well as the comments, will no doubt include the by-laws that were passed at the last general meeting. The chamber meeting, for the first time, dealt with the chamber's tasks in mediating and representing various interests as well as with the 1985/11 statute of the Council of Ministers. Since last year, the chamber has been a social organization and its inclusion in economic decisions has been compulsory.

An opportunity has been thus given to the chamber to speak up, before decisions have been made, in representation of the opinions of its members, thus helping economic management; it has also been reporting on the effects and acceptance of decisions.

With a Matching of Interests

The chamber's stand and the measures had been matched several times in the last five years. For a long while our institution, for instance, has been urging the elimination of differentiation between the results of the balance and that of accounting, and for the discontinuation of the separation of share funds from investment funds. We have been urging the moderation or discontinuation of centralized amortization. The measures we deemed necessary have been taken, in principle, as of 1 January 1985 although their implementations include many compromises. The expected effects have been diminished by the fact that in 1985 there was no change in the taxing system, the central element of income regulation. As a result of the new taxes and their amounts--in preparation for the general meeting, our members have been speaking about this in meetings of many institutions--the degree of centralization of enterprise profits has been mounting in the last year and a half, greatly limiting the freedom of action of the management organizations.

After 1981, economic management has also required the chamber to take a more active part in the social solution of clashing interests of the various enterprises. This requirement is entirely justified in terms of the need for

solving most problems between the autonomous management organizations without official mediation. Our experiences indicate, however, that the social solution of clashing interests is slow for several reasons. The point is not only that the enterprises allegedly "have become used to" requesting mediation in solving their problems. It is perhaps more essential that the financial situation of many enterprises makes "tolerance" impossible in a given situation without a 100 percent implementation of interests in order to "make up for it" in another instance.

Still, chamber institutions have been trying to improve of relations between producers and users, and exporters and distributors. The metallurgical enterprises and those which use raw materials worked out joint recommendations for dealing with the problems of raw material supply and, as a result of talks between the paper industry and the presses, the problems of paper supply in the press industry's exports have eased. Repeated talks between teamsters and contractors may also have been instrumental in easing tensions. The output of the furniture industry will no doubt be increased when, as a result of chamber institution activity, it will be better supplied with equipment and material. We do not consider, however, the achievements entirely satisfactory. In the second half of the 1980s one of the most important tasks the chamber faces will be the operation of the mechanism of interest matching, i.e., the social improvement of inter-enterprise relations.

Through working out its own independent recommendation the chamber is ready to take part in changing the present too complex income regulation into a system in which the accumulated taxes of production costs would be significantly lowered. Apparently this could be achieved by a system in which taxes directly related to production are reduced while those related to consumption are increased. It is expected that the introduction of the so-called value added tax will ease the demand for individual regulations and subsidies and that income regulation will be simpler, clearer, and more manageable for the enterprises.

A System of Soviet Relations

The chamber's traditional job has been the improvement of international trade. On a more or less regular basis, we have made connections with organizations of trade improvement and other concerns in about 90 countries. In 1969 an agreement was made between the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce and the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of the Soviet Union to establish departments which join the enterprises that have the highest interest in improving economic relations between the two countries. Since then chamber cooperation has been playing an important role in preparing international trade agreements and in exploring the possibilities of increasing trade. The joint presidential meeting of the departments that took place this year in Tallin studied how the enterprises could play a more intensive role in further improvement of the Soviet agrarian system. Conversely, at the Budapest International Fair, Hungarians were able to get some help from the Hungarian department of the Soviet chamber in establishing new relations and in acquiring market information. Our relations are strengthened by the annual Hungarian economic and technological exhibitions in the Soviet Union as well as by established relations with the individual member republics. It is an important future

task of ours to be instrumental in a more rapid improvement of cooperation and in the implementation of Hungarian and Soviet enterprise programs of technological development through helping in the establishment of direct relations between the two countries.

To Improve the Conditions of the Market

Of course, it is also a goal of ours to help Hungarian management organizations find new markets and new business contacts in the developed and developing economic world as well. There is an especially great need for us to be present in non-traditional markets considering that, although Western Europe is very important for us, it is often difficult for us to compete in the western half of our continent. The chamber has already been helping by increasing our trade in the early 1980's with the United States, Japan, Turkey, Southeastern Asia and the Arab countries, for instance, while in the near future we want to improve our relations with Latin American enterprises. We feel that we can make better use of our chamber relations to join forces in helping the Hungarian business world enter the markets and more often use chamber channels in mediating disagreements between Hungarian and foreign enterprises that normally require state intervention.

We are facing decisive years. The next phase of our economic development will have a fundamental effect on our future. It is up to us whether or not we will confront and increase our role in the world's economy. In order to make our national development more dynamic, it is essential to increase our corporate incomes and to strengthen inter-enterprise coordination. Istvan Szechenyi wrote 136 years ago: "The Past is out of our reach but we have control over the Future." His words are still timely....

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1 November 1986

ECONOMY

POLAND

ECONOMIST URGES SEPARATION OF POLITICS, ECONOMY TO EASE CRISIS

Warsaw ZARZADANIE in Polish No 6, May 86 pp 5-7

[Interview with Prof Jozef Kaleta, rector of the Oskar Lange Academy of Economics in Wroclaw, by Barbara Mathes-Cieszewska]

[Text] [Question] Professor, let us begin with a general question. How would you assess the status of implementing economic reform?

[Answer] Very critically. I have said this repeatedly in the columns of periodicals and in various public appearances. Progress in implementing reform is highly unsatisfactory, especially in the most important sectors of the economy, such as mining, iron and steel industry, power industry, heavy industry.

[Question] How would you, as a financier, evaluate the methods of stimulating enterprise? Should this be done by raising taxes?

[Answer] Of course not. The Ministry of Finance should not do that. In many Polish centers, among others at the University of Lodz, studies were done which showed that our taxes on business are the highest in the world. Turnover tax repeatedly reaches 40 percent; income tax reaches 70 percent; tax on wages--up to 20 percent; ZUS [Social Insurance Agency] premium--up to 43 percent of wages; tax on excessive wage payments--up to 500 percent. Businesses divert over and above budget a high tax on real estate, 50 percent of amortization, 50 percent of the technical fund, two percent of the value of durable goods to the Foreign Debt Servicing Fund. These very high taxes destroy economic incentives, and also destroy private initiative: handicrafts, "Polonia" firms.... The world business outlook is not improved by raising taxes, but by tax reduction. Reagan stimulated the economy just by lowering taxes. This also would be advantageous for our government finance department.

The situation looks this way, that we take about three trillion from our enterprises annually and almost half this sum is used to support firms with deficits. Meanwhile, every year hundreds, thousands of businesses fail world-wide and other, more effective ones arise in their place, which is normal practice....

[Question] But what about unemployment?

[Answer] I do not believe that closing down a poor business must lead to unemployment. People can transfer to good businesses, which will be able to make better use of them. Inherent potential is likewise available. Not that long ago I was in Hungary. The chief director of the Orion television stations told me that there was a factory nearby which made hats. Two thousand people worked there. It was a weak business, bordering on deficit. Orion took over that establishment. In 8 months it requalified the crew, and took over the machines and serviceable fittings. Televisions, tape recorders, and electronic equipment are produced there now. The establishment brings in huge profits. In Hungary, such cases are not isolated. I think that such possibilities exist here, too. After all, what social conditions justify tolerance of enormous wastefulness? I believe that bankruptcies are necessary, if only as an example to others. Only...when there is no comprehensive economic reform, when profit is not profit, when prices are based on costs, when there are monopolies, then an enterprise may have a deficit through no fault of its own. Presently, one cannot require a bank to apply hard currency policy rigorously, for the business environment will not allow it--distribution, lack of competition and so forth. The changes must be comprehensive.

[Question] In this situation, is it possible to talk about economics in Poland?

[Answer] It is like a lunar landscape. It is voluntaristic. When establishing reform we adopted the very fair assumption that national prices must be based on world prices, and this would permit our economy to compete with the world economy. The Hungarians acted in just this way, and thanks to this attained very good results in foreign trade. This generates over half the national income there. We make fifteen percent. They allowed competitive importation. There are two very good electronics firms there, and they permitted yet a third--Grundiga--so that this Western firm would compel Hungarian firms to produce well.

It should be this way in Poland, too. This has been discussed in the phases of reform. An antimonopoly law was announced. The law is being written continually, but meanwhile the monopolists are winning. We reinstate monopoly in the form of iron and steel corporations, mining concerns, conglomerates of smokestack industries, Megats, mandatory industry associations, and so forth...which are conceptions, I am afraid, that are being realized. They will be irrefutable evidence that we are deviating from reform.

Nowadays one often hears opinions that being against monopolies means being against technical progress and progress in general. The aim of opinions of this type is to discredit the purpose of the antimonopoly law. However, these opinions are also incorrect. Throughout the world there is a trend towards demonopolization, towards small enterprises, towards deconcentration. Even large firms like General Motors, Siemens and Toyota collaborate with 10,000 to 20,000 small companies--General Motors with 16,000, Toyota with 20,000 of them. In the USA and Japan, 90 percent of the national income is earned in small businesses with fewer than a hundred workers.

In contrast, in Poland 90 percent of income is earned in large establishments. In the construction industry, we have over 600 large concerns employing more than 2,000 individuals. In the great United States, there are 150 such enterprises, and 110 in Japan. Small businesses are more suited to technical progress--in spite of what is said--they can adjust more easily to their environment, to crisis conditions.

Of course, there are fields of endeavor where large establishments, some concentration, definitely are necessary, but even there, for example in mechanized industry, one should allow small, competitive businesses which will collaborate with large firms.

[Question] Perhaps you have noticed some essential changes in the investment system. For example, in the market sector?

[Answer] I have observed them, but, unfortunately, they are unprofitable.

First: The fuel-power complex is preferred to a much greater extent than in the past. Eighty percent of expenses go for pursuit of large investments, mainly in that complex.

Second: The share of investments in the building industry grew from 56 percent in 1981 to 80 percent last year.

Third: The investment cycle has lengthened, by 4 years on the average.

Fourth: The effectiveness of investments is worse. If in the early seventies a zloty invested in an industry increased its productive power by 85 groszy, then in the second half of the past decade it would have grown by 63 groszy, and now by 35. Trends in investments and in their structure are alarming. The situation is dramatic, especially because preferences for large investments induce decapitalization of property in businesses. The average period for replacement of machines grew from 10 years in the early seventies to 43 years at present--this is a world record! We build new steel mills and mines at the cost of destroying hundreds, thousands of businesses. The quality of production is getting worse, and we are ceasing to be competitive in the world market. As a consequence of the poor quality of production, we lose 900 billion zloty annually. So say the quality specialists.

[Question] What chances do we have for lowering inflation--taking economic realities into account, of course?

[Answer] If we do not change the structure of the economy, none. Is there a chance of overcoming it? Of course there is. The share of investments and expenses must pass from the main sector, i.e., mines and steel mills, to the market industry. Such, however, were the government positions in the program for overcoming the crisis. It was said that growth in the market sector should be at least twice that of the means of production. It is exactly the opposite. With no change in the structure of the economy, there is no chance for eliminating inflation. We have huge, frozen assets in mining and metallurgy. One hundred zloty worth of production sold in the mining industry

uses up about 40 zloty of the wage fund, yet in the food and consumer goods industries, this figure is 8 or 10. In the latter case, almost the entire production goes to market, but in the former, only to a small degree. We prefer these labor-intensive, inflation-causing areas, yet we do not develop those which counteract inflation.

[Question] It is said, however, that only coal will save us, that exports, foreign exchange....

[Answer] Not true. We are a world leader in coal, in fourth place worldwide in terms of the absolute quantity extracted and in first place in terms of the amount of coal per capita. We are a world leader, but so what? We waste a lot of coal, because we have energy-intensive production processes; we throw away millions of tons into the air, because apartments are not weather-proofed; and probably we transport about 20 million tons of rock. It would be better to extract less coal, not to waste these resources, and to save the environment at the same time. We consume three times more coal per unit of national income than other countries. We squander our raw materials. It would be better to invest in those areas which would permit us to save energy.

There are countries that have no coal, but have an excellent economy. I think that only very backward countries use coal, steel, cement and sulfur the way we do. There is an expert's report from PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences], according to which after 40 years we will have no sulfur in Poland; after 50, no coal; after 60, no copper. Our grandchildren will then have a wasteland. I do not think we must agree to this in order to fulfill the role of raw material reservoir for other countries.

Defense considerations are often discussed. Military potential of the contemporary world, however, is not determined by quantity of coal or quantity of second-rate steel, but rather by technical thought, progress in science, economic efficiency.

[Question] In your opinion, is the fact that we are falling to the level of underdeveloped countries in engineering and technology a natural assessment of the crisis, or does someone possibly bear the responsibility for this?

[Answer] It is true that we are falling behind, and will continue to fall behind. That gap is getting bigger, and it is appalling. In Western experts' reports, countries similar to ours are mentioned: Hungary, Yugoslavia, Portugal. They each have 70, 80 large contracts for scientific-technical collaboration. We do not have even one. On this basis the experts forecast--and I agree with them--not the best prospects for us for the year 2000.

[Question] And who bears the blame?

[Answer] It is said repeatedly that we all do. But if all do, then no one does. I think that the responsibility for mistakes in economic policy always is borne by the politicians directing the economy. The ruling party, the ruling team is always responsible for crises and economic problems. In America, none of the economists is ever to blame, but always either the

Democrats or Republicans. The party must force implementation of reform upon the officials. The party must be sufficiently strong.

[Question] But the party declares support for reform, and is concerned with technical progress. Committees are created for science and technology, as are offices and programs for development....

[Answer] I shall refer to the eminent scholar Hirsztfeld. He said that experiments in rationalizing the economy by creation of new administrative organs and commissions remind one of attempts to accelerate the run of a train by adding cars and passengers. We are acting this way. When we have problems with youth, we create a Ministry for Youth Affairs; problems with culture, a Council of Culture; with technical progress, a Committee of Science and Technology. This is inefficient behavior. There cannot be much change through offices, rules, orders and prohibitions. Mechanisms must take effect. Which ones? Competition, opening up to the world, elastic rates of monetary exchange, prices. All these mechanisms are written into the course of reform, only they are not being realized.

[Question] What do you see in our future? In the nineties, when it will be necessary to start not only paying interest, but also repaying the debts?

[Answer] According to Western experts, our indebtedness to the West will grow to 39 billion dollars in 1990, and in the year 2000--it is better not to say. I think things cannot be allowed to come to this. The situation now is already dramatic. Not everyone realizes this, for the mass media tell us that we are emerging from the crisis, but yet we gain small increases in national income at the cost of decapitalizing property, as a result of which the quality of production is declining, and we are losing 900 billion zloty annually for this reason. We are destroying the natural environment, and lose over 400 billion zloty from this every year. We postpone credit payments. This all indicates that we are living at the cost of future years, of our children and grandchildren.

It cannot go on like this forever. If we do not change economic policy, or implement reforms, or improve relations with foreign countries, then there is no chance to save our economy, and we must dwindle to the position of the Bangladesh of Europe.

I do not believe, however, that it has to be this way. We can even emerge from the crisis quickly, only we must act decisively in the directions which I have already stated. We must join the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund. The Hungarians, Yugoslavians, Chinese and Romanians derive enormous incomes from duty-free zones. We must encourage investment of foreign capital in Poland, and to create mixed businesses--this creates possibilities for new technologies, for developing foreign tourism, and above all for changing the structure of the economy to be more export-oriented. Gorbachev, when he was in England, urged the capitalists to invest their capital in the USSR. Teng Siao Ping is encouraging capitalists to invest in China. They pay 15 percent income tax there. The Czechs are creating mixed firms. Yugoslavia is creating nine more duty-free zones.

There is no example in history where an under-developed country was able by itself, through its own efforts, to overtake highly developed countries. It is not true that in collaborating with capitalists, we are dependent on them. We cannot be any more dependent than we are now. At present, they dictate conditions to us. If we will be strong economically, we will be partners with them.

[Question] Then what is there to do?

[Answer] One of the reasons for the slowing down of reform is the primacy of politics over the economy. I think that we must separate politics from economics a little. The Chinese say that a politician cannot decide what to produce, what to export. In Hungary, too, these spheres are separate. The party does not enter into the current business management. In the Soviet Union, Gorbachev says that as long as the party secretary hinders the manager, the economist, he will run in place. So, there is a certain course towards emancipating the economy.

The party should set socioeconomic goals at its congress, not quotas of steel and coal. It should also see to it that we have a very good premier, president, marshal of the Sejm and ministers. The main thing is the key positions in the central administration. The governing party should also be concerned with having preponderance in the parliament and national councils, when by law it can influence the economy. And that will be sufficient!

[Boxed item: Prof Dr Hab Jozef Kaleta is a well-known economist and active political worker. He was a delegate to the VI and IX Congresses of the PZPR; in 1980-84 he was the chairman of the Provincial National Council in Wroclaw. He has been rector of the Academy of Economics continuously since 1975. He has published over 180 scientific papers.]

13324/12947

CSO: 2600/690

MILITARY

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

STRUCTURE, DEPLOYMENT OF SOVIET FORCES IN GDR ASSESSED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 29 Aug 86 p 5

[Article by Siegfried Thielbeer: "Increasingly More Modern Tanks in Ever Greater Numbers--Five Soviet Armies with 19 Divisions in the GDR"]

[Text] Substantial changes have taken place in the course of the past few years among Soviet troops in the GDR ("Group of Soviet Armed Forces in Germany"). The Ministry of Defense in Bonn has repeatedly mentioned that modernization brought with it a substantial increase in combat effectiveness. Thus, for example, the number of tanks has increased considerably, even though in October 1979 Brezhnev has withdrawn one tank division--praised at the time as a sign of Soviet desire for disarmament. Previously, the Soviet Union had stationed 20 divisions in the GDR, half of which were tank divisions and half motorized rifle divisions (so-called mot. rifle divisions). Later the confusion was intensified when several formations were renamed and command assignments were placed under the armies. The current organization is in and of itself more logical in terms of geographical conditions, and to a certain extent represents a "cleaning up." After years of hesitation--the responsible offices only unwillingly reveal how exact their information is and where there are gaps in their knowledge--are there now no longer any objections to a more precise listing of Soviet troops in the GDR.

The strongest Soviet combat unit by far is the 3d "Strike Army" headquartered in Magdeburg. This army with four tank divisions faces the I British Corps, and covers the shortest link between West Germany and Berlin along the autobahn from Helmstedt. The 47th Guard Tank Division is stationed in Magdeburg, the 10th Guard Tank Division in Altengraben, the 7th Guard Tank Division in Dessau, and the 12th Guard Tank Division in Neuruppin. The term "guard" in connection with Soviet units does not imply an elite troop with special training or equipment: rather, it is more a traditional name from the time of World War II.

Offensive Deployment

Behind them is the 20th Guard Army (Eberswalde), which surrounds Berlin with its 4 divisions, clearly as a strike force reserve in the event of internal civil disturbances in the GDR. The 35th Motorized Rifle Division is located west of Berlin, at the old troop training area in Doeberitz, the 6th Guard Motorized Rifle Division is in Berlin-Bernau, the 32d Guard Tank Division is to the south at the Jueterbog troop training area, the 25th Tank Division southeast of Berlin near Fuerstenberg.

The 8th Guard Army (Weimar) with four divisions covers the southwestern region of the GDR. Because of the mountainous terrain, which can be used to advantage, this army consists of three motorized infantry divisions and only one tank division. The 79th Guard Tank Division is located in Jena, the 7th Motorized Rifle Division in Halle, the 57th Guard Motorized Rifle Division in Naumburg, the 39th Guard Motorized Rifle Division in Ohrdruf (Thuringian Forest).

Behind them are the units of the 1st Guard Tank Army; the locations where they are stationed suggest that securing the Saxon industrial regions against internal civil disturbances is among their primary tasks. The 11th Guard Tank Division is stationed in Dresden, the 9th Tank Division in Riesa, the 20th Guard Motorized Rifle Division in Grimma near Leipzig.

The 2d Guard Army (Fuerstenwalde) is located in Mecklenburg and the Altmark in the direction of Hamburg; it, too, has a large proportion of infantry because of the terrain which has so many lakes and woods. The 94th Guard Motorized Rifle Division is stationed in the Schwerin area, the 207th Guard Motorized Rifle Division in Stendal, the 21st Guard Motorized Rifle Division in Perleberg, the 16th Guard Tank Division in the Neustrelitz area. The stationing locations are echeloned in depth and do not permit any clear statement in respect to the possible direction of a strike in a Soviet attack. Publicly expressed suppositions that this unit is aimed at Hamburg and then Jutland, where it first faces only one Bundeswehr division, are speculation. It is more likely that in the initial phase of a conflict the Soviet command would be able to get along with having GDR units cover this secondary direction and roll up the Jutland region first, using a second echelon which would also include Polish forces. In this event, the direction of attack of the 2d Guard Army would more likely be against the region which the Netherlands Corps, which would have to be first mobilized and then deployed, would have to secure south of the Elbe River.

Contrary to widespread assertions, the deployment of the "Group of Soviet Armed Forces in Germany" is not to be viewed as having a direct offensive purpose. Rather, the bulk of the troops is positioned more in depth, and a primary goal is to secure political order in the GDR. Just as in the FRG, where a large part of the Allied troops is not stationed near the border, this is due to the fact that the old barracks facilities of the Reichswehr garrisons are being used. Of course, the Soviet divisions could be moved forward as far as the German-German border very quickly, roughly in one night. Western intelligence services are convinced that attack preparations and any deployment can be discovered in a timely manner. The decisive factor would in fact be whether or not the politicians in the West would draw conclusions from this intelligence in a timely manner and take countermeasures such as their own mobilization.

Of the armed forces of the Soviet Union's allies, the six GDR divisions are viewed as combat-effective. In contrast, Poland's five tank and eight mechanized divisions, like Czechoslovakia's five tank and five mechanized divisions, are considered only partially combat-ready. The troops are equipped for the most part only with old T-55 tanks. But the main question is that of loyalty. Would the soldiers of the allies march too? Can East Berlin or

Warsaw be in on attack plans? Defensive action on secondary fronts would be the first issue to be considered, at least in the initial phase of a conflict.

An important contribution to the stability of perceptions on both sides stems from the fact that there are no Soviet field maneuvers on GDR territory. Contrary to occasionally expressed assertions--as, for example, that the Soviet Union has exercises with increasingly greater strength and increasingly closer to the border--, responsible offices in Bonn's Ministry of Defense emphasize that there are no large-scale maneuvers by the Soviets out in the open such as the NATO fall maneuvers. Whether it is because they do not want to engage in contacts with the German people or because they do not want to give Western observers like the Allied military missions in Potsdam a glimpse of their own capabilities (and deficiencies), the Soviet armed forces do their exercises exclusively in their own closed troop training areas in the hinterland. It is reported that only occasionally are there shifts from one location to another.

When Soviet maneuvers are the topic of discussion, as a rule it is a matter of "command post maneuvers" in which only the command and communications troops are utilized and which turn into show exercises in the troop training areas. Actual field maneuvers, as for example the extensive troop movements in Czechoslovakia in August 1968, are the exception which serves as a dramatic warning signal. The Soviet Union knows this, too. When in 1968 the Soviet troops in the course of marching into Czechoslovakia were reinforced to a degree which was dangerous for the West, Moscow pulled the troops along the German-German border back to rear-line areas. The signal was understood in the West at the time.

"God of Battles"

With the redeployment of five Soviet divisions to Czechoslovakia, the forces ratio in central Europe had shifted in 1968 considerably in favor of the Soviet Union. In addition, the combat effectiveness of the Soviet divisions has been substantially increased in the past decade. When the new T-62 tanks replaced the old T-55's, the latter were not taken back to the Soviet Union, but rather were assigned to or stored with infantry units. Thus, a tank battalion was added to every riflemen regiment, which corresponds roughly to a German armored infantry brigade. The tank regiment, which for a long time did not have its own infantry component, was enhanced by a battalion which is equipped with armored infantry combat vehicles. Moreover, now the motorized rifle divisions have their own additional tank battalion. A Soviet tank division, which used to number about 9,000 men, today has about 11,000 men with 340 tanks; a rifle division has grown from 11,000 to 14,000 men with 200 tanks. Each army has its own independent tank regiment as a reserve and an "air attack battalion." In the meantime, a special tank brigade and an "air attack brigade" have been added on the level of the "groups of armed forces," and to a certain extent at the fronts.

In spite of the withdrawal of a Soviet tank division this restructuring has resulted in an increase in Soviet tank strength in the approaches. Some 9,000 Soviet tanks are now stationed in the approaches of the Soviet Union, the MBFR area: 6,900 in the GDR (reoutfitting to the newer T-64, T-72 and now the T-80

and upward of 1,000 T-62's has been completed), 800 in Poland and 1,400 in Czechoslovakia. The GDR armed forces themselves has 1,550 tanks, Poland has 3,000 and Czechoslovakia 2,700. Yet there are still large number of old T-55's. The total number of tanks in the active units of the Eastern bloc along the middle front thus amounts to about 16,400.

The artillery--in the Russian-Soviet tradition the "God of Battles"--has also been built up gradually, but with dramatic consequences: In 1968 a Soviet division had only one artillery regiment with two battalions. The riflemen regiments were equipped only with grenade launchers. The tank regiments and armored infantry combat vehicles regiments, which had passed their grenade launchers on to the battalions, now each have their own organic battalions with three batteries each of six self-propelled howitzers; in part the batteries are now being changed over to eight guns each. The division artillery, which a decade ago consisted of 54 guns, has now been strengthened to 72 guns.

Alternative Strategies

However, the previously carried guns--which the West hoped to balance out by the greater mobility of its armored artillery--have now primarily been replaced by (on the whole) modern self-propelled howitzers. These semiarmored guns no longer represent a "soft target"; in addition, they make possible a rapid change in position and can accompany the armor branch when advancing. Only thus is combat with combined arms possible for the Soviet units. Previously this was a domain of Western brigades; there was the hope of thus being able to balance out Soviet superiority in numbers.

The Soviet divisions, in any case those stationed forward, can now employ up to 166 guns while a Western division has only about 72 howitzers and guns. A Soviet army which corresponds roughly to the West's army corps has four divisions (instead of the three usual in the West) and can, including its own artillery brigade, move about 750 guns to the front, twice as many as a Western corps which must cover 60 km with them. If one also figures in the fact that according to Soviet military doctrine in the average sector three armies should oppose an enemy corps and that in this case the 200 guns of the artillery division of a front (in the Western army groups NORTHAG [Northern Army Group Central Europe] and CENTAG [Central Army Group Central Europe]--there is no counterpart to this) would be deployed, then the result would be that in an emergency 2,450 guns would stand on a relative narrow strip of perhaps 30 km again--in a favorable situation--about 250 of a Western corps. The required tenfold superiority in artillery would be achieved even if the corresponding numbers with respect to grenade launchers and the rocket launchers which were feared in World War II--thus far only the Bundeswehr and the U.S. army have similar weapons--are not included in the calculation.

The notion put forth by advocates of an "alternative strategy" that a militia army which is strong in infantry and is equipped with antitank rockets would be able to endure such a rolling barrage is viewed as absurd by experts. Even heavily armored units like those which the West now supports could only try to escape this concentration of artillery because of its mobility; that is, evade the fire in order to move to another location to counterattack. Only forcing

Soviet artillery to change its dug-in positions and to bring up (enormous quantities of) ammunition to the West's countermeasures, to fight with their own artillery, MLRS rocket launchers or area bombardment from the air, have any prospect of success. Full armoring of Western troops, even the infantry, can be explained by the necessity of having to evade, with protection, dense enemy fire.

Nonetheless, the Western commanders do not view the balance of forces as hopeless. No one would want to change places with the commander on the opposing side. In terms of numbers the Soviet divisions, although they have only about half the soldiers of a fully mobilized Western division, have the same equipment in respect to heavy weapon systems. But can one therefore speak of equal fire power? Divisions in the West have personnel replacement reserves and in part alternate crews. The Soviet units--contrary to a widespread prejudice--have an extremely thin level of backup personnel. They are weak in infantry, as expressed in the jargon, they have limited "strength of dismounted personnel." Mainly the extensive logistic apparatus is missing: the supply and repair troops are too thin. Experts point out that Moscow balances this out with the echelon principle. Supplies have to be brought up only to the attack centers. Battle-worn divisions are not replenished, but replaced by new ones. Thus, ironically, one speaks of "disposable divisions."

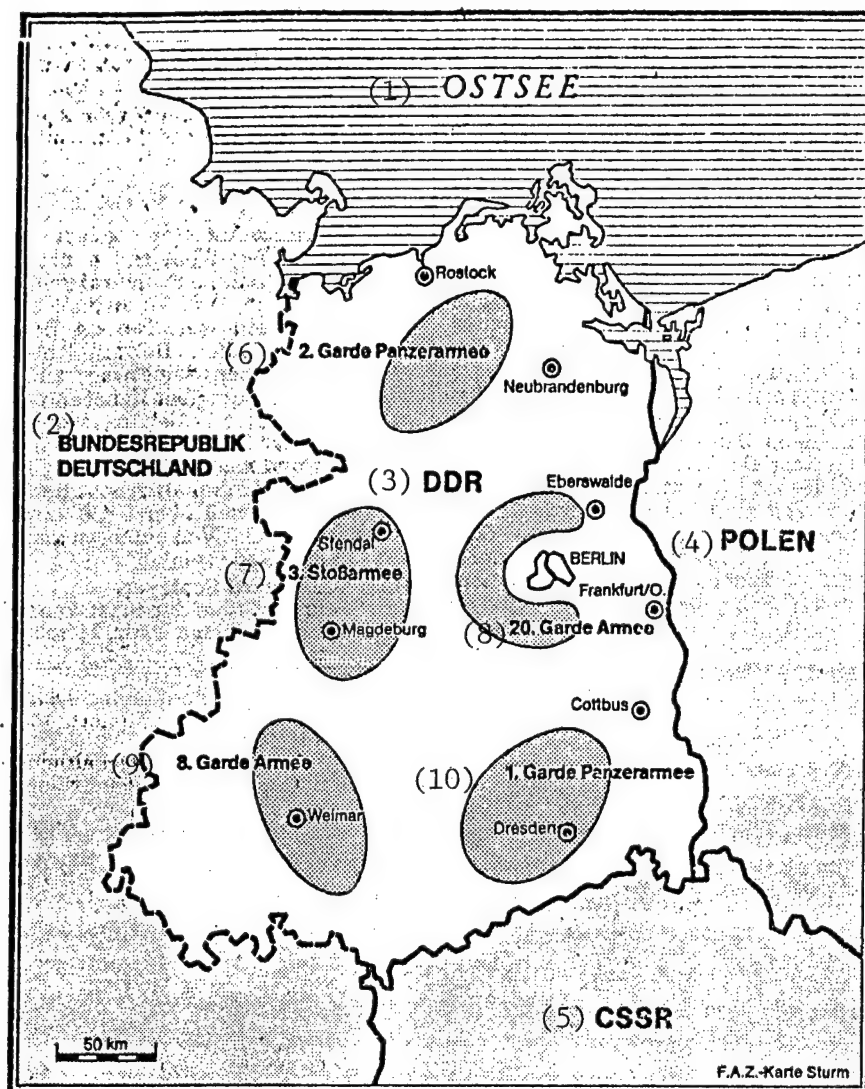
Conventional defense is considered possible. In the West it is believed that they can cope with the 19 Soviet divisions in the GDR, the 2 in Poland and the 5 in Czechoslovakia, all of which belong to Category I and constitute the "first strategic echelon." For to counter them, on the Western side, two Dutch, three British, five German and two Belgian divisions in the NORTHAG sector (from the Elbe River to Coettingen) would be immediately deployed and in the south, the CENTAG area, seven Bundeswehr divisions and four U.S. divisions. In addition to these, three U.S. and one Canadian brigade and two U.S. "cavalry brigades" must be included. Behind them are three French divisions which are approximately equal to six brigades, and six brigades of the territorial defense which would be mobilized in less than 72 hours. Almost 8,000 NATO tanks would face the good 10,000 relatively quickly deployable Soviet tanks. Will the Soviet Union really risk striking about 25 Western divisions, which are being deployed, "from a standing jump" using only about 23 of their own divisions which to a limited degree are stationed near the border? Failure could have catastrophic consequences for Soviet supremacy. How would things stand then in respect to the loyalty of the allies? For these are the best and strongest Soviet divisions. Can they really be risked as "disposable divisions?" All subsequent units would be less well armed.

Western Military Districts

Occasionally the Western military--for propaganda reasons--refers to the 34 divisions in the western military districts of the Soviet Union which, as the real key troops, could be moved up as far as the German-German border in a few days. This army of "ghosts"--played up not least by the Germans at the end of the 1960's in order to prevent the Americans from withdrawing troops to send to Vietnam--is, however, for the most part overstated. Even if there are about 10,000 tanks in these units: of the 9 divisions of the Baltic military district

(including 3 tank divisions), the 14 of the White Russian military district (including 10 tank divisions) and the 11 from the Carpathian Mountains district (4 tank divisions) only 2 of the White Russian district, which is on the border with Poland, belong to Category I, thus are immediately deployable. Roughly nine others belong to Category II; they must first be replenished with reservists for about half of their authorized strength. The rest, Category III, consists of cadre units whose personnel is less than 25 percent operational and which in respect to vehicles would largely have to rely on civilian inventories of the vulnerable Soviet national economy.

In the event of a somewhat longer advance warning time, in which the Soviet Union would be able to move up a part of its divisions from the western military districts, the West would be able to hold its own: the Americans think they would be able to fly six divisions to Germany within 10 days. The heavy material is already stockpiled. Six additional Bundeswehr territorial brigades would be operationally ready, an additional division each of Danes, Dutch and British would be fully deployable. And not only divisions: a large number of "independent"--and is that the only reason they are not counted?--brigades and battalions, perhaps of the U.S. National Guard or the British Territorial Army, would be added. The British Rhine Army, whose I Corps has to protect only a front of a good 60 km, would be increased threefold from 55,000 to about 150,000 men. And would a Soviet commander not also have to figure in all seven divisions of the French I and II Corps (with 900 tanks) and at least three of the five divisions of the "Rapid Reaction Unit?"



Key:

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Baltic Sea | 6. 2d Guard Tank Army |
| 2. FRG | 7. 3d Strike Army |
| 3. GDR | 8. 20th Guard Army |
| 4. Poland | 9. 8th Guard Army |
| 5. Czechoslovakia | 10. 1st Guard Tank Army |

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MILITARY

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

DETAILS OF RESERVIST DUTIES, REQUIREMENTS CITED

Bonn LOYAL in German Aug 86 pp 14-15

[Article by Harald Zulauf: "Being A Reservist In The GDR"; first two paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] In March, LOYAL reported on the NVA [National Peoples Army]. The occasion for this was the festivities that the GDR linked to the naming of its armed forces 30 years ago. At the end of that piece the reader was promised a further report on reservist duties in the NVA and the premilitary training of youth in the GDR. For editorial reasons this report could not appear as planned in the April issue. Now, here it is.

In face of the years of low birth rate in the GDR, even the army of the "workers and farmers state" is having great difficulty insuring that a sufficient number of people is available for military service, either as career soldiers or enlisted for a fixed term of service. The East German army, which does not owe its existence to a democratic decision by the majority (as is the case with Federal Army), and which thus is supported more by the party and the state than by the people, has always had to use special approaches to finding new blood. Harald Zulauf reports now on these approaches, without political evaluation.

If defense should be needed, the NVA can fall back on 400,000 reservists. The soldiers of the reserve (like those in the Federal Army) thus constitute 65 percent of the army's defensive capacity of 619,000 soldiers.

"Our reservists are in every way bearers of NVA battle readiness," says General Horst Stechbarth, head of the GDR's land forces. In order to guarantee this, the NVA reservists are continually trained both militarily and ideologically, even outside of reserve duty training exercises. A close network of some 7,000 so-called reservist teams in businesses, colleges or communities (local reservist terms) has the task of carrying out reservist duties for reservists of all ranks.

The offerings range from military competitions organized nationwide (top reservist team) to friendly gatherings. Sponsorship by active NVA units provides regular contact with the troops. With honor roll calls, the reservists teams here in the GDR took an active part in the festivities marking the NVA's 30 years of existence.

Medals "For Services in Reservist Duty"

They are led in an honorary capacity, for the most part by a reserve officer, who is appointed by the head of the appropriate district military command, after consultation with the manager and the relevant SED party leadership. Three deputies are in charge of agitation/propaganda/military education of the youth, military sports, and reserve officer training. In addition, two or three observers belong to the boards of the NVA reservist teams. There is the so-called Active Reserve Officers, which serves as a special work group for the further training of reserve officers. To represent the reservists' interests at the district military command, there are the Reservist Advisory Councils, each with five to seven reserve officers.

"Reservist duty is a responsible activity which deserves high social esteem and recognition," states the GDR Reservist Ordinance. The heads of the VEB's are obligated to honor workers who have served with a "special reception" when they return to their workplace, and "to promote and respect" the reservist duties of the employees of their business. All units of the NVA are instructed to support the reservist teams with equipment and training personnel. The state honors exemplary participation with decorations, medals, and rewards of money and goods. On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the NVA, a special medal of the reservists own, "For Services In Reservist Duty," was introduced here in (East) Berlin.

As far as motivation and attitude towards military service are concerned, the soldiers of the reserve are "exemplary," according to Gen Horst Stechbarth. "In this way, they demonstrate a high level of consciousness of the state," believes the head of reserve training exercises in view of the declining birth rate, the East German army hopes to take advantage of this commitment of its reservists.

The NVA practices three forms of reserve duty training:

The "Reservist Qualification" serves to keep the reservists in practice and train them further; it can take up to 3 months per year. The total length of this type of call-up, however, cannot exceed 24 months.

The "Reservist Exercise," which lasts up to 8 days, serves primarily to test the battle fitness and action readiness of the entire unit. To this end, the call-up takes place in a short time.

Conscripted reservists, who have so far performed only very little (up to 4 weeks) military service or none, are called up for a 3 to 6 month "Reservist Training."

Comprehensive Military Training for Greater Combat Readiness of the Populace

The GDR's Military Service Law and the Reservist Ordinance explicitly obligate the NVA reservist to be militarily and politically active and active in sports to "strengthen his personal combat readiness." In addition, he is obligated to participate in recruiting new members for military professions and to support

the premilitary training of GDR youth (Paragraph 38, Military Service Law). Here, many reservists are employed as exercise leaders. They can wear their uniforms all the time at all these activities.

To strengthen and increase its citizens' readiness and fitness for combat, the GDR has built up what is certainly the most comprehensive and thorough system of military education in the world. It encompasses political and ideological work, as well as the practical communication of military skills and keeping the population fit through military sports. According to the Military Service Law (Paragraph 5), all state organs, especially schools, colleges, businesses and mass social organizations, are obligated to prepare the citizens for "honorary service in the NVA."

As part of the socialist military education NVA soldiers, together with army soldiers, visit kindergartens and vacation camps of the Young Pioneers (organization for GDR youth up to the age of 14). For this reason, the premilitary education is controversial even in the GDR itself, especially in the churches.

Obligatory military instruction for the ninth and tenth classes in GDR schools (polytechnical colleges) includes four two-hour classes per week, including camp training for boys (training in open field and shooting instruction, among other topics) and courses in civil defense for the girls. At the universities, too, political and practical military instruction is an obligatory part of the course of studies; for example, four weeks of military camp with the NVA. Female and male students not fit for service receive training in civil defense and sanitation from the GDR German Red Cross.

There is a "Functionary for Military Training and Sport" in each of the FDJ's 28,000 base organizations. At the FDJ's "Hans Beimler Competitions," conquering an obstacle course, hand-grenade throwing and air-rifle shooting are trained. A "test march" of 10 km includes, among other things, camouflage, orientation in open country, and first aid.

An important function of military education is also winning temporarily enlisted and career soldiers for the NVA. Some 2,000 "FDJ Recruiting Collectives" are supposed to advertise the attractiveness of enlisting in the NVA with, among other things, troop visits to the youth. Here, too, it is the reservists who take a leading role.

The principal instrument for the premilitary training of GDR youth is the Society for Sport and Technology (GST), the socialist military organization of the GDR. In view of the declining birth rate, it now has the additional task of keeping adult citizens and reservists militarily fit. Once again, it is above all the reservists who are employed as instructors.

In coordination with the NVA's training program, subordinate to the Ministry for National Defense and under the political direction of the SED, the roughly 19,000 GST base organizations in businesses, schools and communities instruct some 600,000 GST members. Like NVA soldiers, they are furnished with battle and fatigue dress, as well as service uniforms. Arms are limited to small-caliber guns. They do not have combatant status.

Two Years of Pre-Military Education for Those Liable for Military Service

For GDR youth between the ages of 16 and 18 years, a premilitary career training of 2 years in the GST before completion of military service is prescribed by law. Attractive offers, from virtually free driver's licenses for motorcycles or trucks to gliding licenses and instruction in diving or parachuting, guarantee that they participate with the appropriate motivation. Oriented towards their expected later use in the NVA, instruction is in such careers as motorcycle policeman, journalist, military truck driver, diver, sailor, military pilot and paratrooper. All youths receive training in shooting, drilling, defense, military sport and military topography. The GST's qualification insignia are also worn later on the NVA uniform.

The goal is for one liable for military service in the GDR to acquire an ideological consciousness ("Education of a socialist personality with the proper class attitude to military service") and practical military knowledge, which will make possible his rapid integration into the NVA and the assumption of combat duties. Approximately 95 percent of all those liable for military service who are called into the army today have completed premilitary training in school, business or the GST, according to NVA reports.

12507/13045

CSO: 2300/543

POLITICS

BULGARIA

U.S. SAID NOT READY FOR ARMS CONTROL ACCORD

Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 21 Sep 86 p 14

[Vladimir Tsakov article: "Once Again About Truth and Responsibility"]

[Text] "The Sixth Round of the Soviet-American negotiations on nuclear and space weapons is beginning in Geneva."

"Talks were held in New York between Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz."

(from news items published in the press)

These events cannot be looked at in isolation from one another. They are only part of the active dialogue at different levels we have recently witnessed between the USSR and the United States. Even during the period of diplomatic vacations the consultations and additional negotiations between Moscow and Washington were never interrupted.

The subject submitted to discussion is difficult and delicate. There is a danger that ill-intentioned propaganda insinuations may speculate with this vitally important subject--namely, the halting of the disastrous arms race. That is precisely why the two powerful nuclear forces agreed that the negotiations in Geneva should proceed behind closed doors, and this is quite natural. Despite all this, however, it is an open secret, that no essential progress has been achieved yet. Since the Geneva meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, which means for a year, the two countries' stands on reducing armaments have not become closer. I am aware that it is no consolation to say this, even less so during days when the dialogue is being pursued in both Geneva and New York.

Let us consider in more detail the reasons for this obvious lack of progress. In the first place--Washington has not seriously replied to any of the well-known Soviet proposals. I include the ideas launched by Comrade Gorbachev in his declarations of 15 January and 18 August 1986. In the second place--Washington continues to maintain its unrealistic stands on the reduction of those weapons, which according to the U.S. should, in the first place, be reduced by Moscow. It is obvious that this is likely to violate a basic principle--the principle of equality and equal security. Such an approach

does not lead anywhere, and least of all to an agreement on nuclear and space weapons, as is expected by the whole world. In the third place--the fanning of the "Daniloff case," the distortion of the facts surrounding this case and the expulsion of 25 Soviet diplomats of the United Nations are actions aimed at heightening the tension between Moscow and Washington at a time when important meetings and talks are taking place. We can naturally add to this the attempts by the United States to block the proceedings at the Stockholm Conference until the last moment. It became necessary for the ministers of foreign affairs of two leading NATO member-states--Britain and the FRG--to address a letter to Washington in order that the Stockholm forum could be successfully concluded.

What do all these facts indicate if not an unwillingness of the leading circles in Washington to achieve an agreement on arms control and to clear the path for a successful new meeting between the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the U.S. president? The entire line of behavior of the Washington administration so far shows that people there are not ready for real agreements. On the contrary--influential American politicians are trying to take advantage of secondary, or invented problems, in order to evade the responsibility of adopting decisions on the most important issues of our contemporary epoch.

As realists in politics we must say that the time for a voting on a joint solution of these questions has not run out. However, it is drawing to an end. That is why it is necessary to engage in specific actions, to accomplish honest and sincere deeds in order to give a positive impetus to the negotiations. This is precisely the appeal launched by the Soviet Union. As Mikhail Gorbachev stated in his most recent speech at Krasnodar: "Endurance does not mean compliance...We will not become nervous. However we will not permit anyone to provoke us."

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CSO: 2200/6

POLITICS

BULGARIA

CORRESPONDENT ON BRZEZINSKI REACTION TO REYKJAVIK

AU080605 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Oct 86 p 5

[Article by Georgi Todorochev, RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent, from New York: "The 'Falsetto' of the Warmonger"]

[Text] He is a mixture of ambition and self-confidence, and now he is in his element.

He is sought after, called upon, invited, expected, and flattered.

He is the "darling" of the conservative tycoons of television, the press, and lecture halls.

Full of spite, malice, and venom, Zbigniew Brzezinski is engulfed in a new phase of mordant battle spirit. He has entered a new phase of anti-Soviet obsession, which has always dominated his entire life and career.

He is writing articles, giving interviews, trying to persuade, issuing "recommendations", and boasting.

First of all, he says, how could the U.S. President agree to a meeting in Reykjavik? Second, why was such a favorable source of tension as the exploitation of the "Daniloff case," so "hastily" liquidated? Third, are not some government leaders preparing to surrender to the Russians?

"C-a-p-i-t-u-l-a-t-i-o-n"! This is what the ultra conservatives are now shouting in chorus, repeating Brzezinski's falsetto.

"Capitulation!" -- this is the word chanted by the horrified political dinosaures such as former Senator John Tower, who wrote a special article "accusing" Congress of sending the U.S. President to Reykjavik with "hand-cuffs," because in accepting certain restrictive budgetary measures against the over-inflated militarization, Congress has allegedly deprived the President of "trumps" in his negotiations with the Soviets.

"Capitulation" -- growls William Buckley, the mentor of the "hard conservatives" who not only is calling for "an immediate expulsion of Soviet diplomats from the United Nations," but also for "deporting the Soviet Embassy from Washington."

"Capitulation!" -- this is the feverish cry of alarm of the commentators' duo of Rowland Evans and Robert Nowak, who are concerned about the fact that the U.S. President was allegedly placed in a "vulnerable" position by his closest advisers and was even likely to agree on "compromises" in his talks with the Soviet leaders in Iceland.

Nevertheless, Zbigniew Brzezinski is and remains the chief doctrinaire and supplier of ultraconservative "ideas" on the "behavior and reactions" of the American side of Reykjavik.

What should the U.S. President do at once, before leaving for Iceland, in his opinion?

Brzezinski issues his recommendations with cool and pseudocompetent punctiliousness:

-- The President must immediately announce a factual, initial deployment of space weapons and should not admit any delay in the "star wars" program!

-- The White House should issue the order to deploy the first MX missiles before the summit meeting;

-- American support for those Afghan traitors with whom the courageous Brzezinski, as former adviser on national security questions, had his picture taken, posing with a gun in his hands pointed toward Kabul, must immediately be "dramatized even more;

-- A military blockade must finally be "imposed" against Nicaragua and the Russians should be confronted with the "fait accompli";

-- Much more resolute support should be accorded Zionist policy in the Middle East;

-- The "unrest of all kinds of dissidents" in the socialist world should be even more energetically fanned ...

"I told all these things to my good friend, Secretary of State Shultz," the great warmonger pompously declared, and cited his most recent book entitled "Plan for a Game," a book pleading for an even more drastic line of policy by the United States against the USSR, a book which suggests that only by pursuing and intensifying as well as more frequently applying the "policy of strength" can we achieve "new, geostrategic relations" to the detriment of the Soviet Union. For this purpose, we must take advantage of the potential of "hundreds of newly created types of nuclear weapons" in order to demonstrate the U.S. readiness for action, such as in the cases of operations against Grenada and Libya, and we must newly revive and further expand disinformation as a means of implementing political strategy, he states.

"No, I feel quite comfortable with disinformation," Brzezinski cynically admitted with a sort of distorted smile in an interview with a television

reporter who asked him whether he denounces the public system of active disinformation which is being unravelled in the United States these days.

Thus, he confirmed that he is one of the most inveterate and fierce initiators and supporters of the disinformation campaign.

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

MLADENOV MEETS WITH SYRIAN, CUBAN, OTHER MINISTERS

Meets Syrian, Other Ministers

AU301249 Sofia BTA in English 1245 GMT 30 Sep 86

[Text] New York, September 30 (BTA corr.)--Bulgaria's foreign minister Mr Peter Mladenov met Mr. Faruq Al-Shar', minister of foreign affairs of the Arab Republic of Syria.

The ministers gave a high assessment to Bulgaro-Syrian relations. They discussed the alarming international situation and stressed that it is the result of the policy pursued by the most reactionary forces of imperialism.

The two sides categorically condemned Israel's continuing aggressive policy towards the Arab states and peoples and called for an immediate withdrawal of its troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and after. They declared themselves for the restoration of the territorial integrity of Lebanon and expressed full support for the idea for convening an international conference for solving the Middle East problem

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Mr Peter Mladenov met Shaykh Sabah Al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, minister of foreign affairs of Kuwait.

The talks expressed satisfaction over the good state of the relations of friendship and cooperation between Bulgaria and Kuwait.

The ministers dwelled in detail on the situation in the Middle East and stressed the necessity for a peaceful and just resolution of the conflict, respecting the legal rights of the Arab people of Palestine and stopping the Israeli occupation of Arab lands. They expressed full support for the proposal for convening an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all interested countries.

Shaykh al-Sabah informed of the war between Iran and Iraq and pointed out that if it continues there is a serious threat of the interference of foreign forces which will further aggravate the situation in that part of the world. The participants in the meeting stressed that it is necessary to cease this war and to solve contradictory issues by peaceful means.

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The Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs talked with Enrique Iglesias, minister of foreign affairs of Uruguay. They reviewed the development of bilateral relations which are developing well and noted that there exist possibilities for their further broadening.

The two ministers dwelled in detail on the situation in Central America. It was noted that the situation there remains serious and even continues to deteriorate which threatens the region and peace in the world. The two ministers gave a positive assessment to the role of the state of the Contadora Group in the peaceful resolution of the conflict.

Meets Greek, Egyptian Counterparts

AU271608 Sofia BTA in English 1352 GMT 27 Sep 86

[Text] New York, September 27 (BTA correspondent)--Mr Peter Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria and head of this country's delegation to the 42d session of the UN General Assembly, had a meeting with Mr Carolos Papoulias, minister of foreign affairs of Greece.

The two ministers discussed the prospects for the further development of the Bulgaro-Greek relations in the light of the agreements reached at the recent meeting between Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Andreas Papandreou.

Mr Mladenov and Mr Papoulias assessed the positive development of the bilateral relations as an important stabilizing factor in the Balkans and as a contribution to detente in Europe.

The two ministers exchanged views on certain topical international issues of common interest. They paid special attention to the problem of the establishment of a nuclear and chemical-free zone in the Balkan peninsula, and on the preservation of the region's natural environment. They noted the significance of the proposals and initiatives of the state and government leaders of Greece, Argentina, India, Mexico, Tanzania and Sweden (the signatories of the Delhi Declaration) on the preservation of world peace, detente and disarmament.

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Mr Peter Mladenov had a meeting today with Mr Ahmed 'Ismat Abd al-Majid, minister of foreign affairs of Egypt.

The two ministers noted that the Bulgaro-Egyptian relations are developing successfully and their further development in the political field would be to the benefit of both states.

Mr Mladenov and Mral-Majid viewed the situation in the Middle East. They noted that the only way to resolve the crisis in the Middle East would be the calling of an international conference of all parties concerned, including the members of the UN Security Council.

AU261500 Sofia BTA in English 1417 GMT 26 Sep 86

[Text] New York, September 26 (BTA)--Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, had a meeting with Mr Abdellatif Filali, minister of foreign affairs and cooperation of Morocco.

The two ministers agreed that the relations between the two countries in the political field are traditionally good and that there is every reason to believe that these relations will continue to develop.

Mr Mladenov and Mr Filali voiced concern over the growing tensions in international relations. They confirmed their countries' readiness to contribute actively to the elimination of the threat of a thermonuclear holocaust and the halting of the arms race.

The two ministers stressed that the only realistic way to achieve just and lasting peace in the Middle East is the calling of an international conference attended by all parties concerned.

More Mladenov Meetings at UN Reported

AU250850 Sofia BTA in English 0704 GMT 25 Sep 86

[Text] New York September 25 (BTA)--Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs and head of this country's delegation to the 41st session of the U.N. General Assembly had a meeting yesterday with Mr Isidoro Malmierca Peoli, minister of foreign affairs of Cuba. The two ministers expressed satisfaction with the development of the bilateral relations in the political, economic and cultural spheres.

Bulgaria and Cuba expressed their full support for the Soviet peace initiatives. The two ministers agreed that the peaceloving foreign policy of the socialist countries is playing a decisive role in the prevention of a nuclear war and the improvement of international relations.

Mr Mladenov and Mr Malmierca analyzed the situation in Central America which continues to be complicated due to imperialism's interference in the internal affairs of the countries of that part of the world.

Mr Petur Mladenov had a meeting last night with Mr Faruq Qaddumi, head of the executive Committee of the Political Department of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The two politicians stressed the need of a just and lasting solution to the crisis in the Middle East, the core of which is the Palestinian issue. They condemned the aggressive policies pursued by Israel and its imperialist backers.

Mr Mladenov and Mr Qaddumi paid special attention to the Soviet initiative on the calling of an international conference on the Middle East. They agreed that this is the only correct way to overcome the current crisis and examined the different possibilities for holding the conference.

Mr Faruq Qaddumi assessed highly Bulgaria's consistent support for the just cause of the Palestinian people.

Meets With FRG's Genscher

AU262014 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 26 Sep 86

[Text] Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, met Hans-Dietrich Genscher, deputy of the FRG Federal Chancellor and FRG minister of foreign affairs in New York.

The two ministers expressed satisfaction at the development of the traditionally good relations between the two countries in the political, economic, cultural, and other sectors. During the exchange of opinions on topical, international issues, Petur Mladenov and Hans Dietrich Genscher devoted special attention to the East-West relations and to the necessity of improving the international situation, to the necessity of halting the arms race, and of transition to disarmament. The two ministers stressed the importance of the successfully concluded Stockholm conference. They expressed hope that the Soviet-American dialogue will fruitfully develop and will contribute to an improvement of the international atmosphere.

Other questions of common interest were mentioned during the talk.

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

BCP DAILY ON VISIT TO SOVIET NUCLEAR TEST GROUND

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 29 September 1986 carries on page 1 and 7 an approximately 1300-word long report by its Moscow correspondent Atanas Atanasov, datelined Seipalatinsk, 28 September, and entitled: "The Silent Testing Ground." Atanasov describes the visit made by a group of Soviet and foreign journalists to the Semipalatinsk nuclear test site. According to the report, the note for the trip was struck by Major General Yuriy Lebedev, representative of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, when he met the group at Moscow's Vnukovo Airport and stated: "You are the first representatives of the mass media who will make a sort of landing at this important military objective... You have the chance of seeing that the USSR's nuclear test ground is silent and...of possibly helping this silence to change from a unilateral into a bilateral one."

Atanasov then describes in detail the group's journey in stages from Moscow to the site, first spending the night in the "test-ground town," which Atanasov comments is not marked on any map, but differs little from any other peaceful town in the Soviet Union. Atanasov then describes the journey early next day in two M-8 helicopters to the advance base on the testing ground, followed by a 40-minute bus journey to an actual testing site. He reports the explanation of Lt. Gen. Arkadiy Ilienko, the commander of the testing ground, that the site was specially chosen for its safety, since the location's geological and climatic conditions, its remoteness and the lack of population all reduce to the minimum the possibility of accidents or radiation leaks. Atanasov then briefly outlines Ilienko's explanation of how a nuclear testing shaft is constructed, being blasted horizontally into the mountain, after which the journalists were invited themselves to inspect a half-completed testing shaft on which work had reportedly been interrupted on 6 August 1986. According to Atanasov, Ilienko said "'go in, have a look, and take photographs;' and, of course, we all rushed in." The party has then shown a fully completed testing shaft, "which had been 'frozen' immediately after the declaration of the moratorium in August 1985."

Atanasov concludes his report by commenting: "We all saw and sensed the silence hanging over the Soviet testing ground--a silence which offers and presages calm and peace on earth. Will Nevada respond to this silence? Will their testing ground also fall silent? On this, more than anything else, hangs the fate of world peace and life on earth?"

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

DZHUROV RECEIVES GREETINGS FROM USSR'S MARSHAL KULIKOV ON ARMY DAY

AU052051 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Sep 86 p 1

[Greetings message of USSR Marshal Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, to Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, on the 42d anniversary of the Bulgarian People's Army]

[Text] To Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense of the People's Republic of Bulgaria:

Esteemed Comrade Minister, on the occasion of the 42d anniversary of the Bulgarian People's Army I convey to you and to all Bulgarian soldiers, the most sincere congratulations:

Born in the hard year 1923, when the first detachments of patriots became the model for a new type of socialist army, when they embarked on an unequal combat with fascism, the Bulgarian People's Army, under the leadership of the Communist Party, passed through all hardships of war and was comprehensively developed during the postwar period. The army was transformed into a modern armed force of your country, equipped with contemporary new types of weapons and most updated technical equipment. Along with the other armies from the socialist countries, making part of our militant alliance, the Bulgarian People's Army serves as a reliable guarantor for the cause of peace and socialism and ensures our peoples' peaceful and constructive labor.

On the occasion of the Bulgarian People's Army holiday, I wish you, esteemed Comrade Minister, with all my heart, and I wish all soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army, great new successes in the noble military work and in the comprehensive improvement of the strength of the Bulgarian People's Army, as well as in increasing the defensive capacity of the Warsaw Pact member-states, in constantly increasing the combat readiness of our Joint Armed Forces.

Please, accept also wishes for good health, personal happiness, and prosperity.

With deep respect:

Signed: Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces.

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

LEADERS THANK USSR COUNTERPARTS FOR GREETINGS

AU052132 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Sep 86 p 1

[Message of thanks from Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, to the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers, for greetings sent on Bulgaria's national holiday]

[Text] To the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Council of Ministers,

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Bulgarian working people, and on our personal behalf, we express deep gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Council of Ministers, and the fraternal Soviet people on the warm greetings and best wishes on the occasion of the 42d anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria.

We sincerely rejoice with your high evaluation of the achievements of the Bulgarian working people in constructing the developed socialist society and of the contribution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to strengthening the socialist community and to the struggle for peace and cooperation in the Balkans, Europe, and the world.

We are convinced that close cooperation between the BCP and the CPSU on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, and the ever more active application of new forms and experience in this cooperation will accelerate the process of coming together between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the USSR, and will elevate the fraternal friendship between the Bulgarian and Soviet people to new heights.

We take this opportunity, dear comrades, to wish the USSR communists and entire working people new and great successes in implementing the strategic course of the 27th CPSU Congress for accelerating the socio-economic development,

improving all areas of socio-political life, and implementing the highly humane foreign policy of the CPSU and USSR in the name of protecting general peace and saving mankind from a nuclear catastrophe, as well as successes in the struggle for the triumph of the course of socialism and communism.

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria;

Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

EFFECTS OF FOREIGN CAPITAL ON PRC ECONOMY VIEWED

AU180909 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 16 Sep 86 p 3

[Khaim Levi, Beijing correspondent "economic commentary": "Hope and Doubts Through 'Open Doors'"]

[Text] The subject of China is extremely interesting and topical today. This is to a great extent due to the zig-zag path which the country's economy and society as a whole has taken--from leftwing deviations such as the "great leap forward" and "self-sufficient economy", through the tremendous devastation caused by the "cultural revolution", up to the economic reforms and the CPC general line about the four modernizations--agriculture, industry, defense, and science.

The implementation of this policy line requires China to participate actively in the international division of labor. The Chinese leaders consider the so-called policy of "open doors" as an important means of achieving this goal. This policy implies attracting foreign capital for the production of new enterprises and the modernization of the economy.

The new reform offered favorable opportunities to foreign capital investors to participate to their own advantage in the utilization of the country's wealth, the construction of projects, and the introduction of modern technical equipment and technological methods. The capital investments are guaranteed by the state. The investors enjoy great tax exemptions and are entitled to transfer their profits to foreign banks. Since labor remuneration is low in China, and profits are guaranteed, competition began among Japan, the United States, the FRG, France, Britain, Italy, and other developed Western countries to invest their capital in this country.

Special regulations give foreign investors the opportunity to invest capital in four specialized economic zones and in 14 open cities, as well as in certain, economic-geographical belts, situated mainly around the coast. In certain circumstances, however, foreign capital can also be used in other areas of the country. The capital investors need not only be individual countries, large companies and corporations, but also individuals, many of whom come from Hong Kong and Macao.

During the 1978-79 period mass imports of machines and equipment, as well as complete installations began to arrive in China. This soon caused a number of

financial and other difficulties. The process of economic regulation had another result--namely, to intensify the trend of increasing the proportion of industrial technologies and equipment in imports, as well as to observe certain requirements in building new industrial projects for which local raw materials must be provided.

The "open door" policy has attracted considerable foreign capital within a short time. The number of projects built with foreign capital reached 188 in 1983, with over 1,000 enterprises, while the amount of the investment exceeded \$3 billion. Today, as a result of the participation of Japanese, U.S., FRG, French, British, Italian, and other capital, which has been going on for several years, 2,500 industrial projects were built in the country, over 3,800 mixed enterprises were established, 80 percent of which were built in the coastal regions.

Recently, China has avoided purchasing large-scale equipment and complete installations, concentrating on the import of equipment of key importance for local production. This is linked with the necessary reconstruction and modernization of important economic branches, such as oil prospecting, the chemical industry, metallurgy, electrotechnical and electronic industries, and others. The fact, that during the 1981-84 period the value of imported equipment and complete installations exceeded a total of \$2.3 billion, \$1 billion of which came from Japan, demonstrates the active participation of several capitalist countries in this process. The agreements that the FRG signed in the same year amounted to \$468 million, while France signed \$123 million worth of agreements with China and the United States \$107 million worth.

Along with the visible increase of direct investments by foreign companies in the Chinese economy, the number of joint enterprises with the participation of Chinese and foreign capital is also increasing.

All this has naturally had an impact on the development of the country's industrial production and the increase of its foreign trade turnover, which from \$14 billion in 1975 attained \$59.2 billion in 1985, and at this rate will exceed \$83 billion in 1990.

Nevertheless, the process of the penetration and accumulation of foreign capital, mainly from developed capitalist countries (while the proportion of capital from the socialist countries and developing countries is still rather small), is a two-edged sword.

It contributes to increasing not only the country's foreign trade deficit but also its foreign debt. The fact that there was a devaluation in 1985, as a result of which the Chinese currency was devalued 24.5 percent against the dollar is an alarming fact.

The advance of foreign capital in the PRC economy is creating dissatisfaction among certain circles of society. This dissatisfaction is expressed particularly strongly as regards the establishment of Japanese capital.

Despite these phenomena, the party and state leadership envisages devoting even more attention during the current Seventh 5-Year Plan period to the ever increasing foreign trade and to attracting more foreign capital for the development of vanguard technical equipment and advanced technologies.

The "open door" policy for foreign capital in China naturally causes certain problems. The future will show the results of this process.

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

DYULGEROV SPEAKS AT WFTU CONGRESS, MEETS WORKERS

AU171832 Sofia BTA in English 1800 GMT 17 Sep 86

[Speech by the Bulgarian Trade Unions Chairman"--BTA headline]

[Text] Berlin, September 17 (BTA corr.)--The present situation imposes new priorities on the trade union activity, first of all the question of peace and disarmament, said today from the tribune of the 11th World Congress of Trade Unions Mr. Peter Dyulgerov, chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions. The differences in political convictions should not be an obstacle to the cooperation between trade unions in the struggle for peace and disarmament. The arms race is a bloodless war against the social security of the working people and only its cessation will create the conditions for solution of the important social problems, pointed out the speaker. The proposals and actions of the Soviet Union, and especially the unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests, are the real way for achievement of a turn in the international relations. They provide a wider basis for unified actions of the trade union movement as well, said he.

Further on Mr. Peter Dyulgerov dwelled on the work of the Bulgarian trade unions in the conditions of the deep innovating processes brought about by the social reorganization on the basis of techno-scientific revolution and self-management. Democratization and raising the role of the working people in the management are the essence of this reorganization, said he. In conclusion the speaker expressed the solidarity of the Bulgarian working people with all fighters for peace and disarmament, for freedom, democracy, economic and social progress, and stressed that the Bulgarian trade unions will continue to be staunch internationalists and will fulfill their new responsibilities.

The Bulgarian delegation visited the workers from the Berlin plants for electro-technical apparatuses and equipment.

In his speech at the rally of friendship Mr. Peter Dyulgerov pointed out that the wide international participation in the trade union forum speaks about the increased desire for joint actions in defence of peace. The successes and tasks of the trade union movements in the socialist countries draw ever greater attention, as well as their contribution to the realization of the rights of the working people and the ever greater satisfaction of their needs, and their role in the uniting of the world trade union movement, he said.

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

DYULGEROV ASSESSES WORLD TRADE UNION CONGRESS

AU021037 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 23 Sep 86 p 1

[Text] The delegation of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council, headed by Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Trade Unions Central Council, which attended the 11th World Trade Union Congress, has returned home. The delegation was welcomed at Sofia airport by Georgi Karaulanov, secretary of the Trade Unions Central Council. Egon Rommel, GDR ambassador, was also present at the airport. At the request of TRUD correspondents, BTA, and Sofia Radio, Comrade Dyulgerov made a statement in which he assessed the work of the congress and the importance of the documents it adopted in the struggle of the world trade union movement for economic and social progress, for peace and disarmament. He declared:

Numerous participants in the congress described it as a great event of historical significance. Time will give the most accurate judgement on the results of this congress. We can however state one indisputable fact--that the 11th congress was a great event in the life of the international workers and trade union movement. This congress was the most representative forum in the history of the trade union movement because it was attended by trade union organizations with different ideological orientations and from different countries, since nearly two-thirds of the delegates were not members of the WFTU. This fact, in itself, is remarkable, when we consider that the split is a characteristic feature of the worldwide trade union movement today. This is even more so, since the trade union centers with a reformist, or rightwing character instructed their member-organizations not to participate in this congress. This is how we could observe the natural striving of the organized workers movement toward unity and unanimous action.

The main attention at the congress was focused upon the basic, global problems of our epoch. The questions of disarmament, peace and security were submitted to lively discussion. In this respect it was very important that none of the delegates failed to speak with hope and gratitude about the peace-loving policy of the USSR and the other socialist countries, about their numerous peace-loving initiatives, about the nuclear disarmament program mapped out for the period until the end of the century.

The trade union forum devoted basic attention to the social aspects of disarmament, as well. It is a well-known fact that there are no victors

and no defeated sides in a nuclear war. However, in the escalation of the arms race there are winners: namely, the militarist circles and the monopolies, and those who are defeated are the members of the workers class, who have to suffer under the burden of rearmament.

The congress did not fail to deal with important issues, such as the growing unemployment, starvation, poverty, and the problems of foreign debts. An essential element in the work of the congress were the numerous debates on an unprecedented phenomenon--namely the total offensive of transnational corporations, and monopolies, and of the governments connected with them, against trade union rights and freedoms. At the same time we must point out another important factor--namely the fact that the atmosphere of the congress was creative and businesslike. No one tried to impose his own political and philosophical convictions on the other, a constructive approach was sought as regards the problems on which unanimity and unity of action could be reached among the working people's organizations.

A very serious platform was worked out for the activities of trade unions at the present stage of development, a platform that reflects the aspirations of all working people in the world. This is the chief issue. This program can help to achieve the necessary unity and unanimous action that the world trade movement today needs above all else.

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BULGARIA

DYULGEROV SPEAKS AT TRADE UNION SECRETARIAT MEETING

AU061516 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 30 Sep 86 pp 1, 2

[Report by Evelina Georgieva and Petur Bobanets on statement by Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Trade Unions Central Council and candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, at meeting of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council with branch trade unions' functionaries and members of the local trade unions okrug councils, on 30 September; place not specified]

[Excerpts] How can we describe the results of the accountability and election meetings of self-management organs? What positive trends have been mapped out and what are the essential shortcomings, where should our efforts be directed in this respect? This was the subject discussed yesterday by the Secretariat of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council with chairmen of the branch trade unions central councils and with leaders of the Bulgarian Trade Unions okrug councils. The meeting was chaired by Comrade Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Trade Unions Central Council. Ilya Vulkov, from the BCP Central Committee "Organizational" department also participated in the session.

Comrade Petur Dyulgerov made a detailed statement at the session. He stated: It is obvious that the accountability-election campaign of the self-management organs is an opportunity for serious analysis, evaluations, conclusions and all-encompassing measures. That because it reflects the most important tasks which our society is coping with today. There is even more: It reflects the readiness of our society for changes, as well as the state, the state of preparation, and political maturity of our workers' collectives. Self-management affects the basic questions of the principle of the further development of our socialist democracy, of the comprehensive innovation, which is taking place, and which will be carried out in the spirit of the decisions adopted by the 13th BCP Congress.

Structural problems appeared to be the sensitive elements of the election campaign: what collectives are primary ones, what are their limits, and so forth. In this connection an objective factor in our economic activities emerged as a considerable obstacle: The fact was confirmed that in many places

there is no brigade organization and in other places it is distorted. In this respect, however, the campaign proved very useful and much was accomplished during it. Naturally, work will continue to focus on the solution of this problem, as it is required by the new Labor Code. In this connection, the trade unions will submit certain proposals to the respective, higher-ranking organs, as regards certain specific structural peculiarities, for example, in the chemical industry, in the metallurgical sector, and others.

From the point of view of the trade unions, regarding our functions as organizers of workers collectives and of their self-management organs, certain new factors and tasks are emerging, as well, Comrade Dyulgerov stressed. The present election campaign justifies the following step: A transition from the understanding of the problems in general terms toward the specific work on the mechanism for mutual actions with the self-management organs. In other words, we are facing the question: What will the role of trade unions be like under the circumstances of a well established self-management? This is a general question, that will undoubtedly be main subject of discussion at the Trade Unions Congress.

In pointing out the importance of the postulates set forth by the Sixth Plenum of the Trade Unions Central Council, Comrade Dyulgerov dwelled further on the necessity for the trade union organs and organizations to concentrate upon the new phenomena, to analyze them, and to be aware of the trends contained in them, as well as to detect newly emerging processes. At the same time, he stated, the trade unions have their own responsibilities in the establishment of the necessary working atmosphere for the newly elected self-management organs, as well as for the thorough application of the new Labor Code. In this respect the link with the economic mechanism is the most direct one--you cannot practice self-management without the necessary, adequate economic prerequisites.

Comrade Dyulgerov also dwelled on the forthcoming accountability-election campaign of the trade unions--a continuation of the self-management organs accountability-election campaign from the point of view of the trade unions. Naturally, this campaign will be different from all those of the past--precisely because of the changes occurring in connection with the self-management system.

The establishment of self-managing workers' collectives which is being accomplished with the political leadership of the BCP, is both an important and a difficult process. It is a test for the direct organizers--namely the trade unions--as well. We can say that this is a great training process for our trade union cadres.

The stage which the campaign is now entering is of particular importance. It is directly linked with the preparation of the plan, as well as the complex working processes which the government is now discussing for the further satisfaction of the working people's material and cultural needs. It is linked with the programs for improving working conditions, for eliminating hard manual and unattractive labor, and so forth. The trade unions are playing their own active role in all these activities devoted to the implementation of the 13th BCP Congress decisions.

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

UNPROFITABLE ENTERPRISES CLOSED IN HUNGARY

AU080630 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Oct 86 p 6

[Stanislav Drumeshki report: "Budapest -- When the Enterprise is Unprofitable"]

[Text] In the Hungarian economy cases occur of certain enterprises being closed or handed over to other, more profitable enterprises. An example of this is the kitchen equipment enterprise in Tatabanya, which produces commercial refrigerators, electronic cooking vessels, and a number of other items for public catering in the country and which has already changed its production program 3 times, together with a large part of its workers' collective.

The firm was originally an enterprise attached to the city council and produced small items for everyday use. After a time this production proved to be unprofitable and the enterprise was warned that it would be closed. It was then transferred to the Icarus combine and began the production of rear axles for goods and passenger vehicles. Later, demand for these products also fell, due to which the enterprise was once again forced to alter its production image. This time it purchased foreign licenses and acquired its present-day form of a profitable and solvent enterprise.

At the beginning of September a new decree of the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic came into force which improves the procedure for closing unprofitable enterprises. According to this decree, the liquidation process resulting from prolonged unprofitability will in the future commence only after first reaching an agreement between the debtors and creditors. If negotiations fail to produce an agreement, the interested parties also have the right to apply to the courts.

There are production enterprises which, under the conditions of a deteriorating international trade situation, continue to produce goods of low quality and cannot keep up with the international competition, and this often leads to them having to be closed.

For example, due to the high requirements of the international market, the enterprise for the manufacture of office machines in Budapest was dissolved and closed. Its production base was put at the disposal of other enterprises and its labor collective was sent to those branches of the capital's industry which are profitable and need labor. Of course, the severity of the new law does not harm the interests and the position of the workers. The socialist

society is rendering full assistance to the working people by redirecting them to other production activities and, most important, making available to them time and material opportunities to improve their vocational skills in normal and correspondence 3- and 6-month courses, schools, and so on.

The closing of unprofitable enterprises in Hungary is rightly causing concern among the public. The phenomenon shows that the present-day organization of economic activity is associated with a number of problems. This is why, apart from legal measures, society is also striving to increase by other means the demands the producers make on themselves in order to ensure that only high quality products appear on the international and home markets.

In this respect, great hopes are being placed on scientific and technical progress. The achievements of this progress are the subject of increased attention on the part of not only the state and its central organs, but also of the separate economic units which, after changing over to self-management this year, are becoming fully responsible for the present and future of their factory, enterprise, or combine.

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

ECONOMIC COOPERATION SESSION HELD WITH INDIA

AU061720 Sofia BTA in English 1537 GMT 6 Oct 86

[Text] Sofia, October 6 (BTA)--The eighth session of the Joint Bulgaro-Indian Commission for Economic and Techno-scientific Cooperation met here to examine the development of the traditional friendly relations between the two countries. Heads of the two parts of the commission are Mr Ognyan Doynov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the country's Economic Council, and Dr Gurdial Singh Dhillon, minister of agriculture and rural reconstruction of India.

The two delegations discussed the prospects for the development of the bilateral relations especially in the field of agriculture. They noted the excellent prospects for joint work in the food industry and the growing of fruits and vegetables. The participants in the talks examined different proposals on the activation of the contacts in the field of the heavy industry, electronics, the chemical and pharmaceutical industry and in trade. A special cooperation protocol will be signed for the development of tourism cooperation.

The two delegations agreed that there are excellent prospects for the development of the trade and economic relations. They supported this conclusion with the fact that the two countries' trade exchange for the first six months of 1986 has nearly amounted to the exchange for the whole of 1985. Bulgaria's and India's long-term interests have led to the conclusion that a broadening of the ties between Bulgarian and Indian companies is necessary in such fields as industrial cooperation and the joint construction of projects.

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

'ANNOUNCEMENT' ON PAPANDREOU DEPARTURE RELEASED

AU121824 Sofia BTA in English 1735 GMT 12 Sep 86

[Bulgaro-Greek Announcement"--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 12 (BTA)--A joint announcement has been released for publication here on the working friendly visit paid to Bulgaria on September 11 and 12, 1986 by Mr Andreas Papandreu, prime minister of Greece, at the invitation of Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, and of Mr Georgi Atanassov, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Andreas Papandreu signed a "Declaration of Friendship, Good-Neighbour Relations and Cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Hellenic Republic."

During the talks, the two leaders expressed satisfaction over the upgrade development of good-neighbour relations between Bulgaria and Greece, and they emphasised that these relations contribute to the strengthening of peace and mutually advantageous cooperation in the Balkans and are a model of good relations between states of different social systems.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Andreas Papandreu stressed the great significance of the already traditional summit meeting for the ever more active and vigorous promotion of political, economic, cultural and other contacts between Bulgaria and Greece, and they expressed their preparedness for these meetings to continue in the future, too.

Special attention was devoted to the situation in the Balkans. Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Andreas Papandreu pointed out that the consolidation of peace and security in the area contributes substantially to detente in Europe and the world, and they declared themselves for joint efforts towards the further strengthening of good-neighbour relations, of confidence and cooperation among the Balkan states.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Andreas Papandreu emphasised that the realization of the ideas on turning the Balkans into a nuclear-and chemical-weapon-free zone, ardently supported by Bulgaria and Greece, will help strengthen peace and security in the area. They reiterated their countries' determination to work actively for the realization of these ideas.

In the assessment of Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Andreas Papandreu, their talks have been useful and productive, and they were pleased to ascertain a wide-ranging proximity or identity of stands on the international questions discussed. The conviction was expressed that the declaration of friendship, good-neighbour relations and cooperation will give a fresh impetus to the promotion of relations between the two countries and will make a tangible contribution to the cause of peace and security in the Balkans and in Europe.

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

BTA COMMENTATOR ASSESSES PAPANDREOU VISIT

AU131454 Sofia BTA in English 1227 GMT 13 Sep 86

[Bulgaria-Greece: Qualitative Leap in the Promotion of Friendly Relations"--
BTA Headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 13 (BTA commentator Vecheslav Tunev)--Model relations, exemplary friendship and cooperation for the sake of maintaining peace, good neighbourliness and understanding: This is the noble message sent by Bulgaria and Greece to this divided and strain-ridden world. This is a possible nutshell description of the results of the latest Bulgaro-Greek summit dialogue.

Every meeting between Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Mr Andreas Papandreu, prime minister of the Hellenic Republic, has given a fresh impetus to ideas and practical actions for peaceful cooperation. The working friendly visit, which the Greek head of government paid here on September 11 and 12, was no exception to this respect. Still, the latest sessions of talks in Sofia and Pravets will be remembered with the signing of a historic document which, as Mr Andreas Papandreu put it, is a new big step, a qualitative leap in the promotion of the friendly relations between two Balkan countries belonging to different alliances. The document reflects the new developments in Bulgaro-Greek relations, the willingness of the two neighbouring states to enhance their ties in all spheres on a durable, stable and long-term basis, to build their future in an atmosphere of confidence and understanding. All this matches the interests and the aspirations of the Bulgarian and the Greek peoples. The declaration of friendship, good-neighbourly relations and cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Hellenic Republic is a unique international document of great importance and implications which by far outreach the confines of bilateral relations. This is a document which is in full harmony with the purposes and principles enshrined in the U.N. Charter and the Helsinki Final Act, a document demonstrating that the adherence to different politico-military alliances cannot be an obstacle to the promotion of friendly and good-neighbourly relations. By signing such a document, Mr Todor Zhivkov said, we are seeking to avert the war threat.

That is why, concerned by the fact that the situation in the world continues to be strained and complicated, the two leaders were unanimous that the

foremost priority facing mankind today is the maintenance of peace. It is a bounden duty of all people, of statesmen and politicians, of scientists and intellectuals, irrespective of political, class, social, ideological and other differences, to do everything so that peace could be maintained, the arms race halted and life on the planet saved. Guided by this approach to international affairs, Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Andreas Papandreu stressed that the discontinuance of nuclear tests is a first major and indispensable step to disarmament. An example of new political thinking, a manifestation of historic responsibility and earnest love of peace is what characterizes the Soviet Union's decision to extend its unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing. Along with that conclusion, the two leaders expressed the hope that the U.S. will follow the Soviet example, which offers a unique opportunity to halt the disastrous arms race and to stabilize international relations.

It is a generally acknowledged fact that Bulgaro-Greek relations are an important stabilizing factor in the Balkans. Therefore, the preparedness of the two countries to work actively for ridding the area of nuclear and chemical weapons, as well as the news of another meeting of experts on this exceedingly important question, which is due to take place shortly, is received with hope and satisfaction by the Balkan public. A manifestation of political wisdom and realism is the firm commitment pledged by Bulgaria and Greece to an active and effective part in building durable relations of good neighbourliness and cooperation in the Balkans, for the assertion of a constructive and well-intended approach to the settlement of problems in the area.

The fruitful results achieved, the traditionally constructive spirit, the atmosphere of confidence and understanding, which once again pervaded the current Bulgaro-Greek summit dialogue, give us every reason to contend that Bulgaria and Greece will persevere in their valuable contribution to the cause of peace and international security. This is the order of the day.

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV MESSAGE TO ETHIOPIA'S MARIAM

AU150813 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Sep 86 p 8

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, has sent the following message to Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Ethiopia [WPE] chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council, and commander in chief of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Socialist Ethiopia:

On behalf of the party and state leadership of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the entire Bulgarian people I most cordially greet you, the WPE Central Committee, the Government, and the friendly people of Ethiopia on the national holiday of Socialist Ethiopia.

During the past 12 years the Ethiopian revolution passed severe tests and proved its vitality in the sharp struggle against domestic and foreign enemies to defend the country's national independence and territorial integrity, and firmly and decisively maintain the socialist road of development which has been selected.

We highly value Socialist Ethiopia's active participation and constructive role in the OAU, the Nonaligned Countries Movement, and the UN, as well as its efforts and contribution to strengthen the unity of the African peoples in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, and apartheid, to normalize relations in the Horn of Africa, and for peace, disarmament and social progress throughout the world.

I take this pleasant opportunity to express conviction in further expanding and strengthening relations and cooperation between the BCP and the WPE and between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and Socialist Ethiopia on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and in full accordance with the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation, for the benefit of the two friendly peoples and in the interest of their common struggle against imperialism, for peace, security, and understanding among the world nations.

I wish you, dear Comrade Mengistu, your party, and the Government and people of Socialist Ethiopia new and even greater successes in the struggle to construct a new and just society on the ancient Ethiopian soil, based on the principles of scientific socialism.

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

SEMINAR ON TRADE WITH ARAB COUNTRIES OPENS

AU061929 Sofia BTA in English 1842 GMT 6 Oct 86

["For Mutually Advantageous Trade With the Arab Countries"--BTA Headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 6 (BTA)--The economic relations of Bulgaria with the Arab countries--members of the U.N. Economic Commission for Western Asia, this is the topic of the seminar which started today in Sofia. This joint initiative of the U.N. Conference for Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Trade, and the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry aims to cooperate for the further development and expansion of the trade and economic cooperation between the European socialist countries and the Arab countries.

The seminar is attended by senior representatives of a number of Arab countries including Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, the Yemen Arab Republic, the United Arab Emirates, the Sudan and others, as well as representatives of the UNCTAD Secretariat. The reports and the discussions will familiarize the guests with Bulgaria's achievements in the sphere of economy and foreign trade and with the opportunities for widening of the trade-economic cooperation with Bulgaria.

As it was stressed by Mr. Spas Georgiev, deputy minister of trade, these countries occupy important place in Bulgaria's economic relations with the developing countries. Apart from the traditionally large and varied barter, the other forms of economic cooperation are also undergoing successful development: Engineering, joint societies, techno-scientific cooperation. The first steps toward industrial cooperation have also been made. The Bulgarian side thinks that good possibilities exist for widening of the trade relations in the future and special attention will be paid to the structural improvement of the barter.

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

REPORTAGE ON BIRTHDAY GREETINGS TO ZHIVKOV

BCP, State Council, Government Greet Zhivkov

AU090510 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Sep 86 p 1

[Text] To Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria:

Dear Comrade Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria cordially and fraternally congratulate you on the occasion of your 75th birthday and on the occasion of the presentation of the "Georgi Dimitrov" order to you.

Born and raised among the working people, tempered in the ranks of the workers' class, and inspired by the virtues of this class, you developed as a consistent Marxist-Leninist, as a worthy son of the BCP and of our motherland--Bulgaria.

In you we greet the fighter and revolutionary who devoted his great political and organizational talents, his skill and energies to the struggles against fascism and capitalism. You greatly contributed to the victory of the 9 September revolution in 1944, to the consolidation of the people's democratic government, to the construction and development of socialism in our country. Under the contemporary conditions you promoted the cause of Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov to a qualitatively new level. You played a role of historic importance in creating and implementing the general April line of the BCP. The April plenum policy restored and consolidated, as well as further developed the Leninist principles and norms of party and social life; it rallied the cadres of all generations; it revived and further expanded the alliance between communists and agrarians, as well as their cooperation; it opened new paths for the upsurge of socialist democracy and for the comprehensive progress of the Bulgarian nation. Marxism-Leninism in action--this policy transformed our country into a contemporary socialist state with highly developed industry, with a large-scale, mechanized agriculture, with a prospering culture and a constantly growing material wellbeing, as well as with an intellectual upsurge of the working people of socialism.

The party and people highly appreciate your contribution and the credit you earned in developing and applying the strategy of building the developed socialist society, in developing the theoretical postulates and practical approach to the implementation of a qualitatively new growth in all things and in all places, based on the scientific-technical revolution and aimed at the implementation of the 13th BCP Congress decisions.

With your style of leadership, which is a Leninist one, you are setting an example for us. It is an example of unshakable communist adherence to principles, an example of collectiveness in work, of lofty moral attitude, of strict exactingness and irreconcilability toward shortcomings, an example of infinite faith in the future of our fatherland, which has been existing for more than a millenium. Your virtues as a communist and individual--such as revolutionary purposefulness, innovative spirit, creative ardor, indomitable energy, cordiality, and indelible links with the workers class and the people--are great assets for us.

We are proud of the deep respect and reverence which you enjoy in the international communist and workers movement, of your remarkable contribution to the struggle for the unity of communists and of all revolutionary and progressive as well as democratic forces for the consolidation of the positions of socialism in the world.

With all our hearts we congratulate the ardent internationalist, the loyal friend and comrade of the party of Soviet Communists, of the great Soviet people; we greet the champion of the invigorating Bulgarian-Soviet friendship and of the comprehensive drawing closer together of our two peoples and countries. We highly appreciate your contribution to the prevention of nuclear annihilation, to the consolidation of peace, cooperation, and good neighborly relations in the Balkans, in Europe, and in the world; your talent to find a common language with every statesman, politician, and public figure who is concerned about the fate of peace and understanding among the peoples.

On the occasion of your 75th birthday, dear Comrade Zhivkov, we fraternally embrace you and wish you most sincerely vigorous health, creative longevity, energy, and strength so that you may continue to struggle for the happiness of the working people and for the triumph of our great communist ideal with the same elan and selfless devotion as ever.

Signed: The BCP Central Committee, the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Atanasov Speech at Zhivkov Award Ceremony

AU091708 Sovia RABTONICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Sep 86 pp 1, 2

["Speech of Comrade Georgi Atanasov," member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, at ceremony held at the Boyana Residence in Sofia on 7 September to award the Georgi Dimitrov Order to Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, on his 75th birthday]

[Text] Dear Comrades,

A moving occasion has brought us together this evening. Today is the 75th birthday of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council.

While being deeply personal, this birthday anniversary is also a festival for the party, for the workers' class, and for the entire people.

Because it concerns a life totally devoted to the struggle for the success of the great cause of the party, a life forming part of the fate of the Bulgarian people.

Because it concerns our first leader, who bears the main human responsibility in the collective party and state leadership for what we do as a party and a state.

Because it concerns a party figure who, alongside Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov, has rendered the greatest service for the triumph of socialism in Bulgaria.

All of us who work under his direct leadership are well aware of how alien highflown words and protocol honors are to him.

We also know how difficult it is to express the totally sincere love and respect which are felt toward him by the communists, all the working people of socialist Bulgaria, our workers' class, the agricultural laborers, and our nation's intelligentsia.

Only for this reason are we yet more fully conscious of what class tempering and qualities of a revolutionary are necessary to be the leader of the lofty cause to which he has devoted himself.

A party figure and statesman of the scale of Lenin, one who has assimilated and comprehensively enriched the virtues of our glorious party, in whose ranks he has now served for 54 years, Comrade Todor Zhivkov has been an active and direct participant in solving the fateful problems of the Bulgarian people during the period of the antifascist struggle, during the victory of the 9 September Socialist Revolution, and during the building of the socialist society.

For this reason, too, at the time of radical change in April 1956 the party found in his person a leader of its own, around whom it rallied in order to preserve its Leninist essence and continue its victorious path.

The cause of the April plenum is an unchanging party and national cause. Such is the assessment of history, and this assessment is supported by the remarkable success which we have achieved in the material and intellectual building of the socialist society. Today we are living in a new Bulgaria,

and this is the principal result of the development and application of the April line. At this point we must say, with a feeling for the truth, that the main personal service for shaping this line and consistently following it has been rendered by Comrade Todor Zhivkov. We too, the communists and the citizens of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, are working and will continue to work selflessly to put into practice the historic plans of the April line, and to strengthen and further develop its founding principles.

The transforming might of the April line is rooted first and foremost in the consistent and creative study and application of Marxism-Leninism as a guide in the work of the party. In this manner the party raised to a new level its views relating to the dialectical essence of socialist construction and its general objective laws, and is implementing Lenin's ordinance concerning constant and organic unity of theory and practice, of real life and science. It suffices for us to recall the July plenum of 1968, the party's new program, the 12th BCP Congress, the February [1985] and January [1986] plenums, and the 13th BCP Congress--these are milestones in the development of our party's thought and social practice. Every one of these events carries the mark of the hand of Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

The strength of the April policy lies in the fact that it is constructed in conformity with the concrete historical features, with the specifics of Bulgarian social reality, and with the traditions of our revolutionary movement. The April line has roots, deep roots in the life of the party and people; it rests upon the people and is carried out by the people. This is one of the fundamental political maxims of Comrade Todor Zhivkov. To work and to create for the people--this is a truth that has never lost its power for the party.

The vitality of the April line lies in the continuous striving to seek and discover new problems in reality, to find sound solutions to these problems and effective approaches for releasing the nation's energy to carry out these solutions. This is the style of work of the party, the Central Committee and the Politburo, which is profoundly linked with Comrade Todor Zhivkov, who serves as an example to us of how the party leader and the statesman should provide answers to the most complex problems of our social development, reveal new ideas in theory and practice, strengthen these new ideas and carry them out as a policy, and wage an uncompromising war against everything which bogs down our forward movement.

His elaborations concerning the transition from capitalism to socialism, concerning the general and the particular in the socialist revolution and socialist construction, concerning mature socialism in Bulgaria, and so forth, form the contribution of the BCP to Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

His creative seeking and ideas, his feverish activity to achieve qualitatively new growth based on the scientific and technical revolution, are aimed at establishing Bulgaria in the front ranks of world progress, and at satisfying ever more fully the material, social, and intellectual needs of the people.

Our general secretary exerts himself ceaselessly and fruitfully to elevate Bulgaria intellectually. What optimism and what activity spur on his personal concern for expanding and developing the creative forces and capabilities of every individual, of society as a whole and its capacity to maintain principled and friendly communist relations with figures of the arts and science and with the youth! With flair and insight he opens the way and gives support to talented creative people in all spheres of life.

During the years following the April plenum, the BCP went far ahead in its development under his leadership. The party's leading and guiding role was comprehensively extended. Our party, without losing its class nature, is ever more fully showing itself to be a party of the entire people.

The concern to elevate the role of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union and the allied agrarians in socialist construction and to improve the work of the fatherland front, the trade unions, and the komsomol, and to strengthen the moral and political unity of our people, are worthy of high respect.

Never has the Bulgarian nation been so united and inspired by a universal ideal, or so dedicated to labor in order to fulfill this ideal.

Our party and people are profoundly grateful to Comrade Todor Zhivkov for his consistent internationalism, for the efforts he is making to ensure the flourishing of the life-giving Bulgarian-Soviet friendship and the comprehensive cooperation and drawing together of the people's republic of Bulgaria with the Soviet Union. His activity is combined with ceaseless efforts to deepen the economic integration and cooperation between the countries of the socialist community, for the unity of the international workers' and communist movement, and for rallying all democratic and peace-loving forces in the world.

Bulgaria owes much to him for its high authority in the present-day world. He enjoys the reputation of a notable fighter for peace and international cooperation, for saving mankind from the threat of nuclear self-annihilation, and for good-neighborliness and understanding in the Balkans, in Europe, and throughout the world. His active support of the USSR's Leninist foreign policy and the initiatives of Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, historic in their importance, are welcomed with respect and attention by world public opinion.

Revolutionary thought and revolutionary action--these are the motive forces of the manysided political, theoretical, and practical work of our first party and state leader.

Revolutionary thought and revolutionary action--these today are the high road for the development of our society, the basis for further elevating the self-confidence and self-awareness of the contemporary Bulgarian. The decisions of the 13th BCP Congress and the constructive activity to carry out these decisions serve as confirmation of this conclusion. We are faced by a colossal task, one of great responsibility for the country and the people. The congress decisions require innovation, organization, order, and discipline in order for them to be fulfilled in real life.

Dear Comrade Zhivkov,

On the occasion of your 75th birthday and the award to you of the Georgi Dimitrov Order, please accept our most cordial good wishes for sound health, creative inspiration, and fruitful work for fresh successes in the building of the socialist society in our dear fatherland, for the happiness and prosperity of the people.

To a communist and revolutionary, a politician and statesman, a human being, our beloved and respected leader!

May you live long!

Nicaragua's Ortega Congratulates Zhivkov on Birthday

AU181027 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Sep 86 p 6

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, received the following telegram from Daniel Ortega Saavedra, coordinator of the Executive Commission of the Sandinista Front of National Liberation [SFNL] National Leadership and president of the Republic of Nicaragua:

Dear Comrade Todor Zhivkov, permit me, on behalf of the SFNL leadership, the government and people of Nicaragua, as well as on my own behalf, to congratulate you on the occasion of your 75th birthday. The major part of these 75 years you devoted to the irreconcilable struggle in defense of the vital interests of the workers class. I wish you health and even greater successes in the construction of socialism in your country.

The successes of democratic, revolutionary, and socialist Bulgaria in the economic sector, in science and culture, and in its international solidarity are connected with the glorious legacy of Georgi Dimitrov, they are linked with the BCP leadership, and for several decades--with the name of Todor Zhivkov.

The Sandinista National Revolution, which has been given numerous confirmations of active support from the People's Republic of Bulgaria and has always, regardless of the circumstances, felt the firm solidarity of the BCP Central Committee and your fraternal understanding, wishes you a happy birthday and is convinced that it will be able to rely also in the future upon such a great friend as you are.

Please, accept once more, our assurance of indestructible and consistent friendship and our revolutionary greetings, as ever.

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POLITICS

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV MEETS SOFIA CITY ORGANS, VISITS PLANTS

AU061822 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Oct 86 pp 1, 8

[BTA Report: "City With Great Scientific and Production Potential"]

[Text] On 2 October Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP committee and the chairman of the State Council, met the Bureau of the Sofia City BCP Committee and the Executive Committee of Sofia People's Council. A talk was conducted on the fulfillment of this year's plan on the socio-economic development.

Sofia must occupy a leading place in the country according to the pace of its economic growth, in order to conduct a breakthrough in the national economy's priority directions, and serve as a positive example in leading, managing, and introducing the scientific-technical revolution. This is the direction in which the efforts of the party committees and organizations, state organs, and labor collectives are aimed. Anastasiy Donchev, first secretary of the BCP Sofia City Committee, dwelt in detail on the results in these areas.

The beginning of the technological renewal and progressive reconstruction of Sofia's economy has been made. The specialists have mastered the production of a 32-component electronic minicalculator while creating program-technical complexes for the automation of designing and engineering activities. The laser technologies are being used in measurement, control, and development in microelectronics, optics, and medicine.

In comparison with the same period last year, the social productivity of labor has increased 11.1 percent, while the number of people who are being employed is lower than the approved indexes by 11,462. The labor collectives ensured 30.7 percent of the net production growth by saving materials.

In his report, Anastasiy Donchev reviewed in detail the views and measures of Sofia's party and state leadership, views related to improving supplies, transportation services, cleaning the city, and expanding the capacity of the construction-fitting plants. Sofia City and Sofia and Pernik Okrugs are to develop an engineering project for agriculture in Sofia valley.

In his speech, Comrade Todor Zhivkov dwelt on the necessity for a new concept of Sofia's development, and on the use of new approaches and methods for solving the problems. In the future, the capital must be developed not in an

isolated manner, by itself, but closely integrated with other okrugs and entire regions of the country, which would allow better use of Sofia's production possibilities, and especially the great economic potential that is concentrated in the city. This approach must be applied in the industry, agriculture, and intellectual spheres.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov stressed that implementing this year's plan on the socioeconomic development is the most important task of Sofia's communists and all working people. Now and in the future they must set the tone in implementing the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress.

Yaroslav Radev, deputy chairman of the State Council, took part in the meeting.

After the meeting, the leader of the party and state visited the combine for producing metal-cutting machines, where he was very cordially greeted by the workers. He was briefed on our first flexible automatic production system, which produces asymmetrical body components, and reviewed the computer center. The first model of the processing center, which attracts the attention of the visitors of the Plovdiv International Technological Fair is the result of cooperation between the specialists of Ivanovo and the combine for producing metal-cutting machines.

Information was presented on the combine's plans and the tasks related to implementing a new qualitative growth in production.

The working, businesslike meetings of the general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman in Sofia ended with a visit to the Nikola Vaptsarov mill combine, which is at a world technical level and has great capacities at its disposal for in-depth grain processing.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov stressed that in the future the combine must satisfy the needs of the entire southeast of Bulgaria for high quality flour. He pointed out that similar combines are to be constructed in other Bulgarian regions and posed the task of creating a complete concept on diversifying the assortment of bread and bread products in Sofia and the country through the use of new kinds of production and technologies.

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CSO: 2200/21

POLITICS

BULGARIA

'THRIFTINESS' NEEDED IN WINTER ELECTRICITY USE

AU081045 Sofia OTECHSTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 6 Oct 86 p 2

[Report of Interview given by Engineer Dimitur Mengov, director of the Electricity Supply and Central Heating Division of the Energetika Economic Trust, to OTECHSTVEN FRONT: "The Electric Power Station of Savings. Thriftiness Is the Most Reliable Source of Energy"-- first paragraph is newspaper's introduction]

[Excerpt] October is the end of the time which we have to prepare ourselves for the coming winter, the season during which we heat our homes. We are receiving more and more enquiries from interested readers about the conditions under which the payment for domestic electricity will be determined. The answer to their questions is provided by the new Instruction for the All-Year-Round Control of Electricity Consumption by the Population, which came into force on 1 October this year. The instruction summarizes and supplements the existing normative documents, and clarifies a number of hitherto unresolved questions. For a commentary on the instruction, we applied to Engineer Dimitur Mengov, director of the Electricity Supply and Central Heating Division of the Energetika Economic Trust.

[OTECHSTVEN FRONT] What changes are envisaged in limiting consumption and paying for electricity consumption during the winter months?

[Mengov] Individual subscribers living in dwellings supplied with central hot-water heating and who use no hot water for their domestic needs are a special category, and the limit for them is 500 kilowatt-hours per month. For those living in dwellings not supplied with centralized hot water, the limit is 1,200 kilowatt-hours (an increase compared to last year) while for those equipped with full hot water central heating, the limit is 300 kilowatt-hours. In dwellings built by the industrial method and not equipped with central heating, in which the only fireplace is in the kitchen or kitchen area, subscribers are allowed an additional total limit of 4,000 kilowatt-hours to cover the months of October, November, December, January, February, March, and April. Electricity consumed within these limits is to be charged for under Tariff No. 011, at the rates of 3 stotinki for day and 1 stotinka for night consumption. Exceeding the limits for the relevant categories of subscribers by amounts up to 1700, 900, and 500 kilowatt-hours respectively will lead to an increased charge of 4 stotinki per kilowatt-hour of electricity, while exceeding these upper limits will lead to a warning that the electricity may be cut off.

[OTECHSTVEN FRONT] It is not clear from the instructions issued so far how electricity consumption during the summer months will be determined.

[Mengov] For the months of May, June, July, August, and September, an overall limit of 2,500 kilowatt-hours will be fixed for dwellings with no hot water, and of 1,750 kilowatt-hours for those subscribers who have the benefit of hot water. Within these limits the payment will be at the prices set by Tariff No. 011, while outside these limits the rate will be 4 stotinki per kilowatt-hour.

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CSO: 2200/6

POLITICS

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

DELEGATION RETURNS FROM FRG--The delegation of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union led by its secretary Petur Tanchev, first deputy chairman of the State Council, which had been on a visit to the FRG on the invitation of the Free Democratic Party, has returned. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 16 Sep 86 AU]

TSANOV RETURNS FROM CSSR--On 10 October Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, returned from the CSSR where, at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee, he made a working visit during which experience in agriculture was exchanged. At Sofia airport he was greeted by Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary Janousek, CSSR ambassador to Bulgaria, was also at the airport. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Oct 86 p 2 AU]

ZAREV RETURNS FROM CEMA SESSION--On 10 October Kiril Zarev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and permanent representative of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to CEMA, returned from Moscow, where he took part in the 120th session of the CEMA Executive Committee. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Oct 86 p 2 AU]

RADIO/TV COOPERATION WITH SWITZERLAND--Sofia, September 17 (BTA)--An agreement was signed here today between the Bulgarian Committee for Television and Radio and the Swiss Radiotelevision Corporation. The document envisages exchange of TV and radio materials in connection with the social, economic, scientific, cultural and sport life of the two countries. Stress is laid on the exchange of productions for children and youths. Joint productions will be made. The two countries will enrich their funds with literary and drama productions, with popular science films and documentaries, with musical, folk and entertainment programmes. The agreement was signed by Mr Lalyu Dimitrov, chairman of the Bulgarian Committee for Radio and Television, and by Mr Leo Shurman, director general of the Swiss Radiotelevision Corporation. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1645 GMT 17 Sep 86 AU]

KARAMANEV MEETS FINNISH MINISTER--Sofia, September 12 (BTA)--Today Mr. Georgi Karamanev, deputy premier and chairman of the Social Council, received Mrs Eeva Kuuskoski-Vikatmaa, Finland's first minister of social affairs and health. They discuss questions concerning the expansion of cooperation between Bulgaria and Finland in the field of health care and social work. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1738 GMT 12 Sep 86 AU]

1 November 1986

CULTURAL COOPERATION WITH PRC--Beijing, September 17 (BTA correspondent)--A Bulgarian exposition of records, audio and video cassettes was met with great interest in China. Two cooperation protocols were signed between "Balkanton" and "Khemus" of Bulgaria and the Chinese company for phonograph records. According to these documents there will be a Chinese exhibition of records in Sofia as well as an exchange of specialists and repertory information. The two countries will cooperate in the production of records and cassettes and will purchase licences from each other for original recordings. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 0716 GMT 17 Sep 86 AU]

BULGARIAN-GREEK SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION--Sofia, September 15 (BTA)--Scientists and specialists from the Sofia "Kliment Okhridski" University and the University of Salonika "Aristotle" work together on the problem of physics and technology of semiconductors and physics of metals. The Bulgaro-Greek symposium in this sphere of knowledge, which has been opened here today, is on the results of their joint research work. This is the seventh such scientific meeting. It deals mostly with fundamental developments. The research work is carried out in the two higher schools, and the work is divided in such a way that the material and technical base of the scientific laboratories "Physics and Technology of Semiconductors" in Sofia and Salonika may be used to the full. The symposium was opened by Prof Dr Mincho Semov, rector of the Sofia University. He expressed his conviction that this example for fruitful exchange may be used in other spheres of the university science. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1527 GMT 15 Sep 86 AU]

BULGARIAN-MOZAMBIQUE COOPERATION--Sofia, September 15 (BTA)--Mr Grigor Stoichkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Bulgarian part of the Bulgaro-Mozambique Commission for Techno-Scientific Cooperation, received Mr Fernando Caravela, secretary of state for the light and food industry of the People's Republic of Mozambique. The two sides viewed the condition of joint projects, whose carrying out will bring to ever greater satisfaction of the public's requirements in the two countries. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1810 GMT 15 Sep 86 AU]

COMPUTER COMMUNICATION CONFERENCE--Varna, September 16 (BTA)--The artificial intellect makes entirely possible anyone's communication with computers. The artificial intellect opens wide opportunities for preservation of human knowledge, for its processing, and being able to think it offers man its advice for the most efficient solution in a given sphere. The international conference, which has started today in the resort "Zlatni Pyasatsi", is on the advance which has been achieved in this most promising sphere of computers and informatics. The conference is attended by scientists from Europe, America, and Asia. Opening speeches were delivered by Academician Lyubomir Iliev, director of the Unified Centre for Mathematics and Mechanics with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, and the leader of the international programming committee Prof Philip Joran of France. In the course of four days the participants will discuss 80 reports on the methodology, systems and application of artificial intellect, on the relation between computers and robots, and on other themes. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1135 GMT 16 Sep 86 AU]

SOFIA CLINICAL PHARMACOLOGY SYMPOSIUM--Sofia, September 19 (BTA)--The first international symposium on clinical pharmacology, starting in Sofia today, is called to examine medications' effects on the human organism, medications' side effects and better utilization. This scientific event had up to now been known in the world as a meeting of scientists from socialist countries. 11 such meetings had been organized in the past. This year the symposium will also be attended by experts in this field from Belgium, Great Britain and the FRG. The participants in the event will also discuss the modern approaches to the study of the action of biologically active substances and their application as medications. 120 scientific announcements and 20 new medications will be made by the Medical Academy of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian Pharmachim Company. An analysis will be made of the results of the tests of new medicines, carried out together with Bayer, Ciba-Geigy, Jansen, Hoffman-Laroche. The symposium will end on September 21, 1986. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1130 GMT 19 Sep 86 AU]

CORN SYMPOSIUM WITH SFRY--Sofia, September 18 (BTA)--An international symposium on the "Modern Tendencies in Science and the Growing of Maize", organized by the Bulgarian Agricultural Academy and the institutes in Knezha (Bulgaria) and Zemun Pole (Yugoslavia) was opened today in Knezha. It is attended by scientists and specialists of France, Austria, Vietnam, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Bulgaria. 11 reports were read on the modern tendencies in the selection and production of maize, the achievements and new trends of genetics, the main aspects of the technology of growing maize and the international cooperation in this field. These matters were discussed at meetings of the sections and at the round-table discussion. The excellent results attained in this field by the research institute in Knezha have considerably increased its international prestige. Bulgarian specialists are developing high-yield hybrids and technologies together with scientists from many institutes world-wide. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1411 GMT 18 Sep 86 AU]

ATANASOV RECEIVES OUTGOING AMBASSADORS--On 25 September Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Eustaquio Manuel Remedios de los Cuetos, Cuban ambassador to Bulgaria, and subsequently Hoang Trong Nhu, SRV ambassador to Bulgaria, in connection with their final departure from Bulgaria. The meetings were attended by Mariya Zakharieva and Lyubomir Popov, deputy ministers of foreign affairs. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Sep 86 p 8 AU]

BULGARIA, VIETNAM SIGN LEGAL ACCORD--Sofia, October 3 (BTA)--An agreement on legal cooperation in civil, family and criminal cases was signed here today between Bulgaria and Vietnam. The document gives equal rights to Bulgarian and Vietnamese citizens in respect of the capacity to take legal action and to solve other legal questions, to leave by will and to inherit property on the other country's territory. The questions of wedlock and dissolution of matrimony are also regulated. The agreement was signed by the two countries' justice ministers, Mrs Svetla Daskalova and Mr Phan Hien. During his visit to Bulgaria, the Vietnamese minister was received by Mr Yaroslav Radev, vice president of the State Council, by Mr Grigor Stoichkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and by Mr Velko Palin, chief of the Public and National Security Department with the CC of the BCP. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1904 GMT 3 Oct 86 AU]

STOICHKOV MEETS ROMANIA'S ANCUTA--On 30 September Grigor Stoichkov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the Joint Bulgarian-Romanian Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, received Dimitrie Ancuta, first deputy prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania, who is visiting Bulgaria in connection with the 42d Plovdiv Technical Fair. During the talks they exchanged opinions on a broad range of issues related to further expanding the two countries' economic and scientific-technical cooperation. The meeting was attended by Liviu Minda, Romanian ambassador to Bulgaria. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Oct 86 p 8 AU]

MP'S VISIT BULGARIA--Brussels, October 3 (BTA correspondent)--The members of the European Parliament, who recently visited Bulgaria, have been much impressed by the cordial welcome and the frank talks they held there. An announcement of the European Parliament, circulated in Brussels today, notes that it was the first visit by M.E.P.S. [members of the European Parliament] to Bulgaria. The delegation points out that during their sessions of talks marked interest has been shown in the improvement of relations between the CMEA and the Common Market. The delegation visited the area of Plovdiv, which has a numerous Muslim population, and found that all denominations in Bulgaria--Christian Orthodox, Muslim, Protestant, Catholic, enjoy equally great freedom of religion, the document emphasises. The members will provide detailed information on their visit, so that the European Parliament and Bulgaria's National Assembly could enhance their contacts, the announcement says. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1724 GMT 3 Oct 86 AU]

BALKAN ARCHITECTS' CONFERENCE--Sofia, September 26 (BTA)--The 11th conference of the Balkan countries' architects, which started in Sofia today, will be held under the general topic of "Tradition and Modern Architecture". The complex relations between the cultural and historical heritage and the modern world were in the center of attention of most of the reports read by theoreticians and architects from Bulgaria, Greece, Cyprus, Romania and Yugoslavia, as well as by guests from other parts of the world. This meeting is important from a professional point of view also because it is a continuation of a tradition of more than 20 years. Bulgaria was the initiator and host of the first conference. This is the third such event to be held in the country. This time the conference coincides with the visit here of architects from 20 other countries who toured Bulgaria and are now taking part in the discussions. [Excerpts] [Sofia BTA in English 1413 GMT 26 Sep 86 AU]

EUROPEAN AGRARIAN ECONOMISTS' SYMPOSIUM--Varna, September 29 (BTA)--International trade and the national agricultural systems is the topic of the 13th European Symposium of Agrarian Economists. The importance of the problems in this field has attracted representatives of 18 countries. Prof Klaus Hanf of the FRG, president of the European Association of Agrarian Economists, is also taking part. 40 reports will be read by Bulgarian and foreign economists. They will be examining the current state of international trade in agricultural products and its impact over the development of agriculture. The scientists will be examining the changes in the international market and the ways to adapt the production and export of fresh and processed food products. The participants in the symposium will be visiting research institutions and agro-industrial complexes. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1444 GMT 29 Sep 86 AU]

INTERNATIONAL METEOROLOGICAL CONFERENCE--Sofia, September 29 (BTA)--The first conference on long-term weather forecasting which opened here today will discuss practical problems and future possibilities for precise weather forecasting. More than 60 scientists and 30 countries will dwell on the possibilities for active international cooperation in long-term weather forecasting. This problem is of great economic importance. According to some specialists long-term weather forecasting is so complicated that its successful solution will not be reached before the second half of next century. But a number of outstanding meteorologists are of the opinion that the joining of the efforts within the framework of the world meteorological organization may lead to considerable achievements earlier. The participants in the conference will pay special attention to modern methods and the research carried out in different parts of the world related to them. The conference will also discuss the methods for long-term weather forecasting used in different countries, the application of dynamic models for forecasting the weather after a period of several days as well as the possibilities for forecasting the weather within the framework of a month. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1204 GMT 29 Sep 86 AU]

BEHAVIOR CONFERENCE IN VARNA--Varna, 4 September (BTA)--Philosophers, sociologists, psychologists, and scientists from other areas are participating in the fifth conference of the European Association on the History of Social and Behavioral Sciences. In addition to representatives from scientific circles from various European countries, this forum is being attended by delegates from American and Asian states. During the 3 days of the conference, interesting scientific questions will be discussed, such as the history of psychology, the results and successes of national research on the development of social, pedagogic, and professional as well as other psychological studies, the links of the social and behavioral sciences with criminology, and so forth. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Sep 86 p 8 AU]

ENERGY SOURCES ENTERPRISE--An engineering enterprise for the introduction of new energy sources was commissioned in Khaskovo. It will cover the needs of the Khaskovo, Stara Zagora, and Kurdzhali okrugs. Files on all energy consumers in the area have been set up. The enterprise will carry out research into and will plan installations and systems for the use of solar energy and low-potential energy sources, such as energy from thermal springs and other sources. The collective has been assigned the task of dealing with the supply and equipping of the energy projects, with their construction, and with their commissioning and maintenance. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 2 Sep 86 AU]

MARKOV, FRG BUSINESSMEN MEET--Plovdiv, October 5 (BTA)--Today, Mr. Stoyan Markov, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received the president of the West German firm "Salamander" Mr. Franz Josef Datzert. They discussed issues of the cooperation in the production of this famous trade mark of shoes and of materials for making shoes for the Bulgarian market and for third countries. The two sides also discussed the possibilities for updating Bulgarian enterprises with the cooperation of "Salamander". [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1715 GMT 5 Oct 86 AU]

GDR DELEGATION ARRIVES--At the invitation of the Bulgarian Fatherland Front National Council, a delegation of the GDR National Front National Council headed by Manfred Grund, deputy chairman of the National Council, arrived in Sofia. The delegation was welcomed at the airport by Georgi Petkov, secretary of the Fatherland Front National Council. During its 5-day visit the delegation will have meetings and talks at the Fatherland Front National Council, where an agreement on cooperation between the two fronts is expected to be signed. The delegation will also pay visits to the Sofia City people's councils, the Sofia Fatherland Front Committee, and some Sofia rayon leaderships. In addition to this, the delegation will also visit the cities of Plovdiv and Pazardzhik, where it will be briefed on the activities of the local Fatherland Front committees and organizations and on the work of the Pazardzhik agro-industrial complex. [Text] [Sofia OTECHSTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 16 Sep 86 p 1 AU]

RADIO REPORTS KALB RESIGNATION--New details have become known concerning an event which during the last few hours is emerging as a further big political scandal in the United States. The matter concerns the resignation of the State Department spokesman Bernard Kalb, which he handed in late last night. On leaving his post, he stated that the reason for his resignation was the campaign of disinformation undertaken by the White House against Libya, which is being denounced as a center of terrorism. Kalb gave it to be understood that no proof had or does exist that Libya is preparing terrorist actions. Kalb made the following statement to journalists. [Begin Kalb recording, fading into Bulgarian translation] We face a choice: either to be engulfed by the (?ranks) of silence, or to express disagreement. He added that his resignation, provoked by the contradiction between the principles and the practice of American policy, is an expression of his concern about the good reputation of the United States, and in a closer context, of his concern for his own prestige. [prestizh]. [end recording] [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 9 Oct 86 AU]

PARTY ACADEMIC YEAR OPENS--The party academic year was opened in the Lyudmila Zhivkova People's Palace of Culture. The subjects of study are Marxist-Leninist theory and the BCP's April policy. The level of theoretical and ideological training of the communists and workers is to be raised, and discussions are to be held on the key problems and tasks for the fulfillment of the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress. Stoyan Mikhaylov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, delivered the first lecture, on the subject "The 13th Congress and the Topical Tasks on the Ideological Front and in the Intellectual Sphere." The problems of the contemporary situation in our country, he stated, are determined by scientific and technical progress, the qualitative improvement of socialist management, the ways and methods of selecting the cadres, and the huge step made toward further improving self-management. Dwelling on the basic problems in ideological work at this stage, Comrade Stoyan Mikhaylov pointed to the need to raise our people's educational level, to shape technological thinking, and to sharply increase labor discipline. He stressed the need to intensify the struggle against deviations from our socialist way of life, and to continue to strengthen the socialist Bulgarian nation. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 8 Oct 86 AU]

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POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

USSR'S SLYUNKOV ADDRESSES VITKOVICE RALLY

AU301518 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Sep 86 pp 1, 2

[Report on speech by Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia, delivered at a friendship meeting at the Klement Gottwald Iron- and Steelworks in Vitkovice on 24 September: "Meeting of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship; We Are United By Thousands of Everyday Deeds"]

[Text] In the opening part of his speech, Comrade Nikolay Slyunkov expressed thanks for the warm and friendly reception and conveyed fraternal greetings to all workers and technicians of the VZSKG [Vitkovice Klement Gottwald Iron- and Steelworks] and all working people of Ostrava and the North Moravian region fraternal greetings from the Soviet people and, in particular, from friends from the sister Volgograd Oblast.

He said further:

The Soviet and the Czechoslovak people have always valued their class identity, at whose cradle Vladimir Ilich Lenin stood.

The glory of the heroic sons and daughters of our nations, who defended freedom and independence in cruel battles against Hitlerite fascism, will be eternal.

With a feeling of infinite gratitude we accept your sincere care for the graves of Soviet soldiers who laid down their lives for the liberation of Czechoslovakia, care that springs from the bottom of your hearts.

The fresh flowers at the graves and memorials of Soviet soldiers-liberators, and the Memorial of the Ostrava Operation in Hrabyne, are evidence of how those who fell in the struggle for your freedom and ours are remembered.

Under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist parties, the nations of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia are marching together to a common goal. Their fraternal friendship is firm and will live forever!

We are united not only by words and assurances of friendship, but by thousands and thousands of everyday deeds, the extent of which is truly imposing. We are building together the Progress gas pipeline, the Krivoy Rog oxydized iron

ores dressing plant, and other important national economic projects. Our common work also shows in the products of the electrical engineering and engineering industries in the Prague subway and in nuclear power plants.

In the Belorussian SSR are manufactured the well-known Belaz large-capacity dump trucks, for which people working in Czechoslovak engineering supply the engines. The cooperation between the collectives of the Minsk ball bearings-manufacturing plant and the Brno Zetor plant is fruitful. In the Minsk plant, there is a brigade named after Jan Nalepka, Hero of the Soviet Union, who took part in the antifascist struggle on Belorussian soil. Your famous citizen Otakar Jaros is an honorary member of the second brigade of this plant. The wages that go to his name are being deposited in the Peace Fund.

The working people of the North Moravian region participate to a significant extent in the development of all-round Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation.

The friendly relations between Ostrava and Volgograd, and between the North Bohemian region and the Volgograd Oblast, are growing stronger by the year. We saw excellent results of Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation also here, in the Klement Gottwald combine, which is well known for the wealth of its revolutionary and work traditions. At the end of last year, the Ostrava metallurgical workers received the jubilee 300-millionth metric ton of iron ore from the Soviet Union.

The Vitkovice combine works on Soviet orders, which in the current 5-year plan will account for more than 60 percent of the total volume of the production exported to the socialist countries. Your collective manufactures equipment for the modernization of the mill trains in Kommunar'sk, Magnitogorsk, and Dneprodzerzhinsk, for the construction of a new mill train in the Zhdanov metallurgical combine. Your steam generators and other equipment for nuclear power plants are also very important. For all this we cordially thank you.

A meeting with work collectives is always a great honor and a great responsibility. Each such meeting teaches one a lot. Time and again it affirms that the workers class was and remains the main driving force in the struggle for social progress.

It is precisely the political experience of the workers class, its high degree of awareness and organization that contribute to the uniting of the working people, to their active struggle for the ideals of socialism.

The meetings and talks conducted by the delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet in your beautiful country have enabled us to convince ourselves again with what energy and enthusiasm the Czechoslovak people are fulfilling the 17th CPCZ Congress tasks.

The extensive and, by its importance, truly revolutionary work of the fulfillment of the conclusions of the 27th CPSU Congress has begun also in our country. Energetic measures have been taken to raise the national economy to a qualitatively higher scientific-technical and organizational-economic level, to achieve leading positions in the world in labor productivity, product quality, and production efficiency. Positive changes in our economy are spreading.

The plan for the first 8 months was fulfilled in all important indicators. Industrial production increased by 5.2 percent compared with the 4.3 percent envisaged by the annual plan. Labor productivity increased by 4.8 percent.

Positive changes are occurring in agriculture and other branches of the national economy. A greater number of apartments and public facilities are being built, the supply of foodstuffs and industrial goods to the population is improving.

We assess these results soberly, however. What has been achieved we regard to be just the beginning of the great work of reconstruction. In no case does this make us complacent.

A new economic mechanism is being formed in our country today. It envisages transferring enterprises onto the basis of economic accountability, profitability, and funding from their own resources. The restructuring is being accompanied by consistent democratization of all aspects of the life of our society. The role of the Soviets, which express the will and the power of the people, is systematically increasing. We are trying to increase the degree of information and awareness, and the activity of each and every one in creative work as well as in overcoming shortcomings in the struggle against negative phenomena and deviations from the socialist norms of life and ethics.

The CPSU and the Soviet people hold the fraternal relations between our parties and nations in immense esteem. We know very well that people in socialist Czechoslovakia have similar feelings.

Comrade Gustav Husak has more than once stressed the fundamental and eternal importance of the friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union for the vital interests of the Czechoslovak people, for ensuring their security and life in peace.

The working people of our countries realize well that only the successful fulfillment of the extensive tasks set by the 27th CPSU and 17th CPCZ Congresses and the correct utilization of all the advantages of socialism will enable us to achieve a qualitatively new level of economic and social development.

The Soviet people will make every effort to ensure that our common success multiplies, and that our friendship will constantly strengthen and acquire new content.

When fulfilling the great tasks of the development of our countries' national economy, when expanding and deepening specialization and cooperation, it is important that we more emphatically utilize the possibilities provided by the Comprehensive Program for the Scientific-Technical Progress of the CEMA Member-States For the Period Up to the Year 2000, the program for the long-term USSR-CSSR economic and scientific technical cooperation until the end of the millenium.

Dear Comrades, we agree with you that it is necessary to extensively develop direct contacts between enterprises and organizations of the socialist

countries, establish joint ventures and scientific-production associations. This will help us to advance more rapidly already in the next few years to make more effective use of our economic potential and strengthen the entire socialist community.

As you know, we must fulfill peace tasks in complex international conditions. We must preserve civilization and not permit it to perish in the blaze of a nuclear catastrophe; this is the common task of all states and all nations.

The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, together with the other socialist countries, are waging a strenuous and consistent struggle for the preservation of peace and to avert war. Many of our common peace initiatives aim at that.

More than a year ago, the USSR was the first to undertake a wise and courageous step on the path toward peace and disarmament, when it proclaimed a unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests. The recent USSR decision to extend it until 1 January 1987 again opens up a new stage in the struggle for the elimination of nuclear weapons and the reduction of the feverish arms buildup.

American imperialism continues to aggravate the international situation, however. Militarist circles in the West have not abandoned their attempts to undermine the Soviet Union and world socialism economically. Oh well, there were similar attempts before and they always failed.

The entire history of the Soviet Union and the world socialist system attests to our ability to quickly find an effective response to any provocation, including the ill-famed "star wars" program.

We will exert all our strength to halt the nonsensical feverish arms buildup, to create a firm and universal system of international security. At the same time we will be active in all respects--diplomatically, militarily, politically and, of course, above all economically.

And here, as never before, the work of everyone of us at his worksite is important, be it at a blast furnace or at an assembly line, in a coal mine or in a field, at a lathe or in a laboratory.

In his answers to RUDE PRAVO's chief editor recently, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that "quality work of the Soviet people and the working people in the countries of the socialist community from this viewpoint constitutes a contribution to peace too."

With great satisfaction and gratitude we accept the support which Czechoslovak communists and all working people give to the peace-loving endeavor of the Soviet Union. Proletarian solidarity always served and will serve the noble objectives of the domestic and foreign policy of the CPSU and the CPCZ, the USSR and the CSSR.

We will continue to strengthen the comprehensive mutual cooperation between our fraternal parties! We will continue to expand the cooperation between our socialist states!

We will continue to deepen the relations and comradeship and friendship between the nations of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia!

We wish you, all communists, and all Czechoslovak people many successes in the fulfillment of the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

Long live the workers class of your country and its combat vanguard--the CPCZ!

Long live the unshakable Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship!

/9716

CSO: 2411/21

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPSU'S SLYUNKOV TALKS TO RUDE PRAVO

AU301338 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Sep 86 pp 1, 2

[Interview given by Nikolay Slyunkov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, and head of the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation currently visiting the CSSR--place and date not given; passages between slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Comrade Nikolay Slyunkov, head of the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation, replied to the following questions posted by our editorial office on the occasion of the Soviet delegation's stay in the CSSR:

[RUDE PRAVO] /The 27th CPSU Congress has set new tasks the accomplishment of which requires changes in the style and methods of work of the party and state management agencies. How is the USSR's Supreme Soviet working under these conditions?/

[Slyunkov] The 27th CPSU Congress represents a significant landmark for us. The Soviet socialist society is currently in a period which is a turning point in its history. The highest forum of Soviet communists has formulated with every responsibility the task of accelerating the country's economic and social development. On the basis of a comprehensively weighed, uncompromising analysis of the situation it replied with Leninist truthfulness and depth to the most burning problems of the present; it has drawn significant conclusions and made generalizations which make it possible to [sentence incomplete as published].

Your press wrote in detail about our congress. I believe that it is thus unnecessary to speak in detail about this topic. The main thing now is /to implement in practical life the innovationist program formulated by the congress, with the aid of purposeful practical steps./ We are striving to place all the wealth and variety of experience accumulated by the party and the state, all the forms and methods of the scientific management of society and of work with the people, at the service of this task.

The /USSR Supreme Soviet/ occupies an important place in the realization of the congress conclusions. It is currently concentrating its attention on the basic issues of the country's economic and social development. This was manifested perhaps most tellingly and clearly when the Supreme Soviet assessed

the USSR's state plan of economic and social development for the years 1986-90. The affirmation of the 5-year plan at the session of the supreme organ of state power was preceded by thorough preliminary appraisal of it in the Supreme Soviet's working agencies--the plan and budget commissions and other permanent commissions of the assemblies. Almost 1,100 deputies in 30 permanent commissions participated in this work.

The people's representatives assessed thoroughly and comprehensively as never before the results achieved in all branches of the national economy; they weighed in a principled and demanding manner the activity of ministries, institutions, and planning and economic agencies; they uncovered shortcomings and omissions in their work, as well as unused possibilities and reserves.

The thorough, critical, and constructive discussion of the main state plan indexes continued at the fifth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, which was held in June 1986. More than 50 deputies spoke on this issue at the session.

The varied, heterogenous work of deputies and permanent commissions and of the Supreme Soviet Presidium has made it possible to /improve many of the planned indexes and to fully harmonize them with the tasks of the 27th CPSU Congress. The result was that the 5-year plan has become far more substantiated and balanced./

Furthermore, one can note that the Supreme Soviet is paying more attention to the /issues of developing and improving the legislation./ This is logical, even though we have done great work in this respect since the adoption of the new USSR Constitution in 1977.

The 27th CPSU Congress has clearly formulated the basic trends in the development of Soviet legislation. In the spirit of these trends the USSR Supreme Soviet recently assessed and approved a new and extensive program of legislative work for the next 5 years. One expects to improve legal provisions affecting the economy, scientific-technical progress, and social development; and measures are being prepared for consolidating the legal foundations of the people's socialist self-administration. State discipline and the legal code will continue to be comprehensively consolidated and citizens' rights will be expanded and given more content.

Another one of the USSR Supreme Soviet's tasks is /to enhance the demands on, and efficiency of, its control over the fulfillment of plans and laws and over the work of responsible management agencies./ It has become permanent practice for the USSR Council of Ministers to render account on task fulfillment at the sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and to report on various issues connected with its own activity. Recently the USSR Supreme Soviet heard the report of the USSR prosecutor general. The report of the USSR Committee of People's Control will be submitted to one of the coming sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

We are taking specific steps in order to achieve more dynamism and purposefulness /in the international activities of the USSR Supreme Soviet/ on all levels. The work of the USSR Supreme Soviet is also being reorganized and intensified

in all other directions. Realistic changes have taken place, and are being enhanced. The main thing I would like to stress is that our party Central Committee regards these trends as merely the beginning of the reorganization of the whole of the life of the state in accordance with the strategy of acceleration, /and that it is directing the Supreme Soviet not to remain satisfied with what has already been achieved.

[RUDE PRAVO] /We know that the nationwide activity to accelerate socioeconomic development has already developed in the USSR. What place do the Soviets of people's deputies have at all levels in this all-encompassing activity?/

[Slyunkov] As agencies of state power equipped with full responsibility for all spheres of state, economic, and sociocultural construction, for all that is happening on their territory, the Soviets are called upon to act as the active builders in the reconstruction work, as the guarantors of the irreversibility of qualitative transformations defined by the party. And it must also be said that the overwhelming majority of the agencies of power-- and we have more than 52,000 of them, from the USSR Supreme Soviet down to the village Soviets--have actively joined in these activities. The Soviets at all levels have held sessions to assess the tasks following from the conclusions of the 27th CPSU Congress. Substantial programs for accomplishing the congress tasks have been set up everywhere. The Soviet's attention is increasingly focused on the key problems of the economy and of the people's work and life, and on the fullest and most efficient utilization of present possibilities and resources, for the sake of the goals of comprehensive development in the appropriate oblasts and in the interests of the population living there.

However, /the positive transformations are not yet taking place as quickly as they should. The enormous potential of the Soviets is being implemented only insufficiently./ The former style of work, former notions, criteria, and appraisals, are still firmly rooted in the work of a number of Soviets.

Aiming at further enhancing the role and responsibility of the Soviets for the acceleration of socioeconomic development, the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the USSR Council of Ministers recently adopted a special resolution on this issue, on the basis of conclusions adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress. This is a most important document. The jurisdiction of the Soviets has become yet more specific and realistic.

Two basic lines can be traced in the resolution. First, it contains a comprehensive system of measures aimed at making every Soviet a real center of economic and sociocultural construction. The republican and local agencies' spheres of authority are being significantly extended in order to ensure comprehensive development within the area of their activities in the management of construction, interbranch relations, and the social and production infrastructure. In brief, a permanent organizational and legal base is being established, /so that every Soviet can fully become its own manager in all that concerns the satisfaction of the people's everyday needs and interests./

Second, the resolution orients the agencies of people's power toward relying on the initiative and creativity of the broadest masses of working people, toward being more courageous in implementing the elements of self-administration in all workplaces, and toward consistently improving the democratic foundations of their activity and their style and methods of work.

In brief, every Soviet must contribute in every way to ensuring that /the acceleration and reconstruction permeate the deepest roots of the people's life and become intrinsic for all working people./

[RUDE PRAVO] You have already mentioned the issues of developing the democratism of the Soviet society. What purpose do you attach to the term "democratization" and how is it connected with the reorganization of society?

[Slyunkov] Of course I have mentioned the question of democracy when speaking of the Soviets. In our country the Soviets are the main link of the people's socialist self-administration. It is there that millions of working people are undergoing their main training in state administration.

Soviet power today means, above all, the 2.3 million deputies of the Soviets on all levels--the best representatives of the people, who have emerged from among the people and who are capable of expressing the working people's interests in state decisions on all levels. Two-thirds of the Soviet deputies are workers, kolkhoz members, people who are working directly in production. They are joined by a more than 30-million aktiv of the Soviets. Although they are not deputies, the aktivists voluntarily assist the people's representatives in resolving the tasks.

And now a few words about /democratization and reconstruction./ This is a comprehensive process of qualitative transformation directed by the party, in which we are drawing the people into the reconstruction by means of consistent democratization of the society. The congress tasks can be successfully accomplished only by relying on the initiative and creativity of all people. That is why it is truly essential to further rouse and stimulate the activity and independence of the broadest masses of the working people.

Democratization today has a /really all-encompassing character/ in our country. It is being expanded to all management links, it envelops the work of all state and economic agencies, of all-union social organizations and of innumerable self-administrative groupings of the working people.

Currently it is particularly important to ensure the further development and dynamic work of working collectives, of all self-administrative links of our society.

The experience acquired in the work of the Minsk Soviet can serve to show, for instance, what the real contribution of the activity of deputies and all working people can and must be.

At the initiative of the Soviets and their deputies, a broad movement was developed there for raising production and improving the quality of consumer

goods. In a letter published by VECHERNIY MINSK a group of deputies appealed to all deputies in the city, working collectives, and all working people to increase their efforts to implement the comprehensive program for developing the production of consumer goods and fundamentally improve their quality.

Their appeal found a broad echo. Deputies' quality patrols were set up everywhere. With the participation of the people's representatives, literally every enterprise thoroughly and comprehensively assessed existing and unutilized possibilities and reserves.

The executive committee of the city Soviet gathered and generalized this experience and formulated a comprehensive program of work for the 12th 5-Year Plan on the basis of it. Every municipal district and enterprise now has a specific commitment in fulfilling the tasks, which are now considerably higher than the initial planned tasks and which orient the working collectives toward searching for additional reserves and possibilities and, above all, toward considerably improving the utilization of local and secondary raw materials and waste products.

And what are the results? True, it is still too early to speak of basic changes; but the first results can already be seen. During the 8 months of this year, the volume of goods produced for the population has increased 8 percent. Goods worth dozens of millions of rubles have been produced over and above the plan.

But we can see the main result somewhere else. The organization of the production of consumer goods in Minsk is /being raised to a qualitatively new level. It is ceasing to be merely the concern of a narrow circle of experts and economic management staff, and is increasingly becoming the concern of all the working people of the city./

This is how we understand the development of socialist self-administration. This is the path which should be taken also in the future; an increasing number of working people must be drawn into the construction efforts, into the management of society.

Our party is not idealizing what has already been accomplished and what is being done in the democratization of Soviet society. The 27th CPSU Congress pointed out the immense unused possibilities and reserves as regards the interested and creative participation of millions in building socialism. And life most convincingly affirms that many of our difficulties, inadvertencies, and problems in state, economic, and social-cultural construction are due to the fact that the masses are still not sufficiently active and do not participate adequately in all the work that requires collective wisdom, collective experience, and collective purposeful acts.

[RUDE PRAVO] What impressions have you gained during your visit to the CSSR?

[Slyunkov] I have gained many impressions. Our program was substantial and interesting. We have had many interesting and useful creative meetings and talks. But our main impression is of the people's friendly attitude, their frankness, and diligence.

One notes the great enthusiasm and patriotism with which the workers, farmers, and intelligentsia, as well as the party and state agencies, are striving to implement in life the tasks set by the 17th CPCZ Congress.

Our delegation was received by Comrade Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president. There was a useful and fruitful exchange of views on a whole range of issues concerning both the bilateral and multi-lateral cooperation of our two countries within the CEMA framework. The meeting reaffirmed our ideological unity and the full concurrence of views and stands on the key problems of building socialism and ensuring peace on earth.

During the talks attention was devoted to expanding, deepening, and enriching our mutually advantageous cooperation. Emphasis was placed on the importance of establishing direct contacts between working collectives; and of establishing joint enterprises and harmonizing their production and scientific-technical potential in order to make even more efficient use of the experience and achievements of the scientific-technical revolution and growth of our production to achieve the best world standards. We will work assiduously in this direction.

Our delegation's uniform opinion is that the visit has been useful and fruitful and that it will contribute toward further deepening the fraternal friendship of our countries, toward improving economic cooperation, and toward our common course of action in the struggle against the nuclear threat and the armament race and for preserving and consolidating world peace.

We wholeheartedly wish the Communists and all the fraternal people of Czechoslovakia success in the great construction work to fulfill the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress, and for peace and happiness on earth.

/9716

CSO: 2400/21

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CHNOUPEK SPEECH AT UN NAMIBIA SESSION

AU291024 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Sep 86 p 7

[CTK New York dispatch: "Freedom for the Namibian People; Bohuslav Chnoupek Spoke at the UN General Assembly Special Session" -- passages between slant-lines published in boldface]

[Text] New York (CTK correspondent)--/Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs and head of the Czechoslovak delegation to the 41st session of the UN General Assembly and UN General Assembly special session on Namibia, delivered a speech on Friday [19 September] during the morning deliberations of the UN General Assembly's special session on Namibia. In his speech he stated:/

Mr. Chairman, we are witnessing an unbelievable paradox. On the one hand we have the flight of human genius, the explosion of scientific knowledge, wonders of technology, the ascension of computers, man's entry into space. On the other hand we have one of the last dark residues of the medieval past: the policy of violence, colonialism, and racism conducted against Namibia's people, and supremacy and the pillaging of their territory which occupies an area far exceeding the former colonial metropol.

This tragedy has been going on for several generations. It started 100 years ago with the assassination of 100,000 men, women, and children by the mercenaries of German Emperor William I. Today it continues with the genocide of Namibian patriots by the mercenaries of the South African regime.

Is it not a paradox that /Pretoria has been totally ignoring the UN General Assembly decision on the conclusion of South Africa's mandate over Namibia for all of 20 years?/ In fact, to this very day it has not shown the least sign of willingness to put an end to this illicit occupation, which is unworthy of the 20th century. It is systematically ignoring the most basic norms of international law. It is refusing to fulfill the demands of the international community.

Namibia remains a victim of colonialism. Its people are suffering hunger, poverty, and high child mortality. They are suffering all the other evils of the most brutal form of colonial policy.

However, Namibia has simultaneously become a symbol of the heroism of people longing for their freedom. The participation of broad strata of the population in demonstrations against the occupying regime is growing. The Namibians' combat operations, under the leadership of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), are being activated. Nothing can stop them, despite the growing reprisals and the regime's aggressiveness.

We in Czechoslovakia can look back on our own tragic experience, acquired during 300 years of enslavement and during the national liberation struggle against fascism. Thus, we understand very well the longings of Namibia's people. We have been supporting their fight from the very beginning; we are actively promoting the realization of their inalienable rights to self-determination, freedom, and national independence, while maintaining the country's territorial integrity, including Walvis Bay port and the offshore islands.

/We regard Namibia's decolonialization as one of the most pressing tasks of our times./ It is the moral duty of the international community to do everything in order to achieve this. It is its duty to contribute toward achieving the final victory of the Namibian people.

It was in this spirit that our voice also resounded at the world conference on sanctions against the racist Republic of South Africa, which was held in Paris. The same can be said of the international conference on Namibia in Vienna. The adopted declaration and action program stressed the need to ensure Namibia's immediate and unconditional independence and also affirmed the Namibian people's legitimate right to conduct a struggle for freedom by every available means, even with weapon in hand. Significantly, the neocolonialist plans for resolving this problem have been rejected. The main goal at the conference, namely to mobilize international support for the Namibian people's fight, was accomplished.

/In this context we welcome the powerful impulse emanating from the recent Eighth Summit Session of the Nonaligned Movement in Harare./ This respected forum condemned the policy of so-called constructive cooperation with the racists. It rejected neocolonialist maneuvering. We appreciate the specific, concrete nature and boldness of the conference conclusions. We support the commitment to impose sanctions on the Republic of South Africa. It will certainly be useful to set up a fund to assist the Frontline States.

It is undoubtedly a wise and statesmanlike act to hold the present special session of the UN General Assembly. Of course, it could seem that we are holding far too frequent sessions on one and the same issue. However, we regard this numerousness of actions as totally inevitable. It is impossible to ignore realities which have become ripe, or tolerate realities which have become over-ripe; one must not relax international efforts. Neither time nor effort must be spared as long as the Namibian people have not become really free. We bear the political and moral responsibility for this.

/The present session should prevent attempts to resolve the Namibian issues outside the UN framework./ We are resolutely opposed to endeavors to foist a

puppet government on the people of this country. We refuse to make such issues as the departure of Cuban units from Angola the condition for granting it independence. In other words: We are opposed to all neocolonialist trickery.

We are of the opinion that /the special session must condemn violations of the Namibian population's basic human rights by the Pretoria regime./ In the same way we denounce the acts of aggression carried out from Namibian territory against the neighboring independent African states, and particularly toward Angola.

We state with bitterness that the efforts so far made by the United Nations and the international community to resolve the Namibian issue have not been successful. The brutal, barbarous, racist war continues. We must ask: why.

How is it possible for Pretoria to laugh cynically at the UN's authority?
How can it dare to ignore the opinion of the overwhelming majority of mankind?
How dare this regime act in this way at all?

The answer is: It is able to act thus through the supranational monopolies' venal interests in the riches of this country. It is enabled to act thus through the strategic plans of Western militarist circles which regard Namibia as a significant Atlantic base. It is these global ambitions of imperialism which are interlinked with the interests of South African leaders. This is also why they are so willingly enacting the role of self-appointed judge and executioner.

This dirty policy would have no chance of survival were it not for other reprehensible facts: /Certain UN member countries are intentionally circumventing the military embargo on the Republic of South Africa adopted by the Security Council/ in 1977. This was what helped arm the repression [repressivni] apparatus of the Pretoria regime. Moreover, this also stimulates the continuing close cooperation with the Republic of South Africa in the nuclear sphere.

The Western states are also supporting it economically and through trade contacts.

In this way we witness two kinds of norms in their behavior. Verbally, they condemn the regime. But in practice they are supporting it. As though they were blind to the fact that the spark of South African conflict can easily fly beyond the framework of that area.

We recommend /the special session to call again upon states which are still cooperating with Pretoria to put an end to such cooperation without delay./ We demand that the Security Council immediately adopt comprehensive economic compulsory sanctions against the Republic of South Africa. It is truly high time for all members of the Security Council to listen to the uniform voice of the international community and to enable the approval of these effective measures against the regime of apartheid. It has been said time and again: Those who in the past unhesitatingly declared sanctions against Cuba or Nicaragua within a matter of hours, are now searching for pretexts in the case

of Pretoria in order to make sanctions impossible, or to postpone, or at least minimize them. Things are being procrastinated, one searches for legal tricks and non-committal formulations; it is claimed--hypocritically, but fully in keeping with one's interests in the area--that the sanctions would mean "a step back" and would cause the people of South Africa "suffering and hardship," that they would represent an "immoral solution" and be an "empty gesture." Such arguments are ridiculous. The days of the apartheid regime are numbered.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to use the present opportunity to reaffirm Czechoslovakia's unchangeable solidarity with Namibia's people, led by SWAPO, their sole true and legitimate representative, and also Czechoslovakia's preparedness to continue comprehensively supporting the just cause of Namibia's people.

In conclusion, I want to stress again that we are fully resolved to continue actively participating in all effective UN steps which will lead to Namibia's independence.

Bohuslav Chnoupek and /Oskar Fischer/, foreign ministers of the CSSR and GDR respectively, met at UN Headquarters in New York on Friday [19 September]. In a comradely talk they dealt with issues connected with the current UN General Assembly Session on Namibia and with the main tasks of the 41st session of the UN General Assembly. They also assessed the present state of relations between the CSSR and GDR and further possibilities of developing them.

/9716

CSO: 2400/21

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DANISH PEACE DELEGATION ARRIVES IN PRAGUE

AU261154 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Sep 86 p 2

[CTK report: "Support for the Copenhagen Peace Congress"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)--At the invitation of the Czechoslovak preparatory committee for the world congress devoted to the International Year of Peace, a delegation of the Danish preparatory committee, headed by its chairman Hermod Lannung, is paying a visit to the CSSR. The delegation met with Bedrich Svestka, chairman of the Czechoslovak preparatory committee, and was received by Tomas Travnicek, deputy chairman of the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front. The two representatives exchanged information with the delegation about the two countries' progress in preparations for the world congress, which will be held in Copenhagen from 15-19 October 1986. In the Federal Assembly the delegation further met with Bohuslav Kucera, chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party; Zbynek Zalman, chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party; and with the chairman of the Foreign Committees of the two chambers of the Federal Assembly, Miroslav Stepan and Vaclav Stafek.

On behalf of the Czechoslovak commission for the Year of the United Nations and the International Year of Peace, the delegation was received by Stanislav Svoboda, CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, who informed it about the CSSR's activities within the framework of the International Year of Peace and the stance of Czechoslovak foreign policy with regard to topical international issues. The delegation also met with Lubomir Ledl, secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union.

The Czechoslovak public's support for the Copenhagen congress and its interest in a fruitful and constructive dialogue, which would contribute to the solution of the mankind's weightiest current problems were stressed during all talks.

/9716
CSO: 2400/21

1 November 1986

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HOFFMANN ADDRESSES TV CONGRESS

AU241408 Prague PRACE in Czech 19 Sep 86 p 4

[Speech by Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, WFTU deputy chairman and head of the delegation of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement to the 11th World Trade Union Congress in Berlin on 18 September: "For the Unity of Action and Solidarity of the World Trade Union Movement"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades, we have studied with interest the materials sent out and listened with attention to the report by WFTU General Secretary Ibrahim Zakariya, as well as to the other reports devoted to the most important spheres and problems of the activity of the world trade union movement. We consider them to be constructive and a solid foundation for the deliberations of the congress, and agree with their main notions and conclusions.

The fundamental issues and problems, we well as the proposals aimed at their solution are contained in the submitted congress reports and documents, and they also resounded in the discussions conducted up to now. Therefore, we concentrate on stressing some aspects of the development of the international trade union movement and the WFTU tasks in the current conditions.

Already now, on the third day of the congress, one can note that its participants realize in what an exceptionally complex period it is taking place, and what arises from it for trade unions. It is obvious that if we do not want to disappoint the working people's expectations, we cannot sidestep any weighty issue pertaining to their interests, and we must even more actively and effectively join the immense struggle to ensure a peaceful, free, and dignified life for working people in every corner of our planet. What is involved is life without horrors of war and the incessant danger of war, life without exploitation and iniquity, without unemployment and hunger. What is involved is creating favorable conditions for man's all-round development.

Esteemed Comrades, we have to admit that the task and the results of the activity of the international trade union movement as a whole, as well as the tasks and results of the WFTU do not correspond to the magnitude and urgency of the present-day problems and tasks. The course of action of the international trade union movement does not correspond to the growing endangering of peace and of mankind on earth, to the internationalization and ever greater coordination of the forces of capital, the escalating exploitation, the growing

unemployment, and in many countries the ever more ruthless conduct of the state machinery against workers and their trade union organizations. The safeguarding of the working people's interest is now always sufficiently effective, working people do not feel that the trade unions are giving them the protection they expect, members are leaving, and the number of union-organized people in the capitalist countries is shrinking. With the loss of members a certain number of trade union organizations are also losing strength and their positions, they do not always react in time, resolutely, and effectively to the development of a situation, and are forced to retreat. Assaults on trade union rights frequently become attacks on the very substance and existence of trade union organizations. That is why we see that the influence of trade union is decreasing in various parts of the world. One should note, concretely assess, and draw corresponding conclusions from the fact that trade unions are losing the most radical, most combatively disposed part of the working people in those working people who have been thrown out on the street and who have left trade unions, and in young people who have not found work at all and do not join trade unions. Organizing tens of millions of the unemployed in trade unions constitutes a great fighting force which will increase the capability of action on the part of individual trade union organizations, as well as of the entire international trade union movement.

Today the main weak spot of the international trade union movement is its considerably limited ability to defend the fundamental interests of the working people jointly and in a coordinated manner. Thus far, it has not even arrived at comprehending the necessity to bring together all forces in the struggle for peace and disarmament. This is all the more serious since trade unions have enough possibilities to be active in many ways, and their joint course of action (on the national and international scale) constitutes a force which any partner or enemy would have to respect.

We have the duty to draw conclusions from the fact that this is still not so, that the huge potential of the international trade union movement, which is without doubt the most massive organized force of the working people, does not fully serve their interests.

What, then, is to be done for this force to be really utilized, to play its role, to fulfill its historical mission? The 11th World Trade Union Congress gives a clear answer to that. I would like to support some proposals and conclusions in particular.

We must, above all, perfect the activity of our own organization--the WFTU. We have the duty to react quickly and in a truly trade union manner to the most fundamental and most urgent everyday problems and needs of the working people in countries with all sorts of social systems and in all regions. We can declare that the WFTU and the entire class trade union movement has clearly determined objectives--peace, work for all, a dignified standard of living, just economic relations, development, and the utilization of the results of scientific-technical progress for the benefit of mankind. Here we take into consideration the problems of the individual categories of people working in various branches and professions, and the specific nature of the everyday life of people working and living under differing conditions.

The fundamental problem is how to achieve the determined objectives, how to transform our good programs and plans into reality. We need, in particular, permanent, direct contact with every area of the struggle for the interests of the working people. International trade union associations, the WFTU's regional groupings, and the individual members' organizations could play a bigger role. We should also strive for a more consistent utilization of the already proven methods and forms of activity and search for new ones which correspond better to present-day needs, and for a more perfect WFTU information and analysis system.

All this will be assisted by perfecting the structure and activity of the WFTU's executive agencies, a matter which we fully support.

The second prerequisite for successful activity and the realization of the determined objectives is the choice of correct means of struggle. Proclamations, declarations, telegrams, and slogans alone are no longer enough. As was already said here, large international mass courses of action by workers and other working people are necessary.

Trade unions have some historically tried-and-tested, reliable weapons: organization, trade union rights, solidarity, cooperation, and unity of action. The indisputable fact is that the trade union movement still has to wage a struggle for the possibility to utilize them. In some instances not only with its class enemy, but also within its own ranks.

It is a sad fact that certain components of the national as well as the international trade union movement are incapable of grasping or do not want to grasp the fact that a common procedure and unity of action are the key prerequisites for success, and they reject cooperation.

The most serious and also the most dangerous thing is the fact that a certain part of the international trade union movement--through the fault of the most reactionary forces serving interests hostile to the workers class and Reagan's bellicose imperialist policy--is unwilling to bridge differences in views, even on issues of such global and literally existential importance as the struggle for peace and disarmament.

Also here we must note with regret that for quite a while we have been vainly trying to convince some of our partners about how abnormal it is, and how deeply at variance with our common trade union duty it is when we permit--nay, when we downright help to create--a situation that nothing can justify, that is, when governments of countries with different social systems, despite all difficulties, manage to sit down at one table and in the end also arrive at an agreement (viz Helsinki), but trade unions, which are organizations representing the workers class and other working people, and which have the duty to defend their vital interests, and are therefore objectively closer one to another than their governments, have not only not agreed to date, but have even been unable to meet. Thus, instead of trade unions jointly--and thus also substantially more effectively--developing pressure on the governments of all countries to speedily arrive at the necessary measures to ensure peace, they are actually only spectators who are not even doing as much as the governments that resent peaceful cooperation.

Therefore, a justified question arises about whether representatives of organizations who reject a common course of action on these and other issues are aware of their immense responsibility, aware that their stubborn opposition to cooperation is miles away from, and downright contradicts not only the class, but also the fundamental vital interests of the working people, and that this opposition threatens the working people's existence and future. Therefore, we must continue to persistently and patiently explain to those of our partners who still have not comprehended or do not recognize it that there is no other way than the joint, united course of action by all trade unions. One has to search for new possibilities and undertake new steps toward cooperation. We must not cease our endeavor aimed at arriving at a joint, coordinated course of action by all, or at least by the overwhelming majority of the components of the international trade union movement. Therefore, it is necessary to support the ideas contained in the draft of our congress' appeal that is destined for the working people and trade unions of the whole world.

The third prerequisite for the successes of trade unions, and thus also of the WFTU, is the fulfillment of the demand that those for whom we work should know about our initiatives, that they understand them, identify with them, and actively support the struggle to assert them.

We will achieve more marked results when members of trade union organizations which do not belong to the WFTU, and also non-unionized working people, know our standpoints, proposals, and the concrete steps we are undertaking, when we see to it that they are not informed in a distorted way, untruthfully. We cannot ignore the fact that artificial obstacles are being erected to the spreading of truthful information about the WFTU, about its membership organizations and, in particular, about the trade unions in the socialist countries, the fact that trade unionists and the other working people in the majority of the nonsocialist countries live under the continuous influence of explicit reactionary, antisocialist, antirevolutionary propaganda. We must find a substantially more effective answer to this than until now.

Another aspect of this matter is the question whether the perception itself, the content, the manner of formulation, and the language of our materials are intelligible enough, understandable and attractive to the working people, especially in the nonsocialist countries. Does not the inadequate intelligibility and unnecessary length of these materials weaken the effectiveness of our endeavor? We should also take this into account in giving final shape to the main document and other materials of this congress, as well as all future WFTU materials. We must always formulate all our intentions and initiatives in such a way as to make them comprehensible to those for whom they are destined. So that the working people outside the WFTU also clearly realize that we express their needs, that we work for them, and in their interest. This is particularly important now, and therefore we already have to begin here, at the 11th Congress.

The fourth, exceptionally important prerequisite for the success of the international trade union movement is the implementation of genuine workers solidarity. Although the experience of centuries has taught us that solidarity is one of the strongest weapons of the workers movement, at present we are making

absolutely inadequate use of it. The results of the WFTU's activity and authority will become substantially enhanced when the effect of solidarity actions, organized on the initiative and under the aegis of the WFTU, is always seen in a concrete, rapid, real [realne], and coordinated manner wherever help is urgently needed.

One has to note here that solidarity is also indivisible and literally everybody needs it. Working people in the capitalist countries need it, who are affected by the grave consequences of the profound crisis of capitalism and the negative consequences of the application and misuse of new technologies which, instead of improving life and working conditions in those countries and making work easier, increase unemployment and bring about and deepen other socioeconomic problems.

Solidarity is necessary with the working people of the developing countries, and also of those countries which have embarked on the path of independence, and who are therefore subjected to blackmail, gross pressure, state terrorism, and the policy of violence practiced by the U.S. Administration. There is also a need for solidarity with those countries whose economies continue to be trampled upon by neocolonialism, whose national wealth is being unscrupulously pilfered, and whose people are unimaginably exploited by supranational companies. Some of these countries are forced to pay billions of dollars year after year simply to service the interest on their debts, and the debts are not getting smaller, but continue to grow. Until now, these huge resources and financial sums have been raked in by monopolies and used to finance ever more expensive armament programs, to manufacture instruments for the destruction of mankind. When one succeeds--and we have the duty to contribute to this--in having these resources put at the disposal of the developing countries in which they were created, this will enable them to overcome socioeconomic backwardness and ensure their rapid development, raise their standard of living and improve the population's living conditions.

Therefore, in accordance with the documents submitted, the international trade union movement, and even more so WFTU, must fight with all their strength for a fundamental change, for just political and economic relations, for a new international economic, currency, financial, and information order, for a genuine and consistent liberation of the developing countries.

Our solidarity also directly helps trade unionists in various countries who are being persecuted and discriminated against, precisely because they defend the interests of the working people. Therefore, we should make fuller use of all possibilities to support them comprehensively. In this connection I can assure you that the Czechoslovak trade unionists will unswervingly continue to fulfill their duties arising from the necessity for true trade union solidarity.

Esteemed Comrades, solidarity is also a mutual, bilateral affair, the trade unionists in the socialist countries need it, albeit in a different sense and respect. Your class solidarity, your political support helps us in our construction work and helps us defend the fundamental class interests of the working people of the socialist countries against incessant hostile attacks, against imperialism's continuing attempts at class and social revenge, and

against various forms of discrimination against the working people of the socialist countries and their trade unions. This support of yours, which one can also further develop and perfect, is in our common interest. As also resounded here at the congress, revolutionary trade unionists from the nonsocialist countries, and not only these, are well aware what the very existence, development, increasing strength, and authority of the countries of the socialist community, their policy of peace and cooperation, the standing of the working people in these countries, as well as the role, creative activity, and great influence of their trade union organizations in society mean for the success of their own struggle.

Ensuring peace is the fifth prerequisite for the realization of the determined objectives. Without peace the four preceding prerequisites make no practical sense, and the same goes for any other trade union activity and endeavor. Therefore, it is quite natural that the struggle for peace must stand in the foreground of our interest. Everyone who realizes this, who thinks intelligently and responsibly anywhere in the world, supports the Soviet Union's peace policy and initiative.

After all, this policy is in the interest of the people of all countries without exception; what is involved are concrete proposals and practical deeds which substantially contribute to creating a favorable atmosphere for successful deliberations, to ensuring greater security in the world, and which are further cogent proof of the honest efforts of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries for a just and firm lasting peace. It is enough to recall just one example--the Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests that has been extended several times.

Therefore, it is correct for the 11th World Trade Union Congress to fully and decisively support this policy of the USSR, this approach toward solving the problems of the present-day world. Therefore, I welcome the ideas which Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB, expressed here in his report on the issue of peace and disarmament. And I support the proposal that we call upon all countries and organizations which bear the greatest responsibility for the fate of the world, or which can positively influence the development of the international situation, and upon their highest representatives--on Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; U.S. President Ronald Reagan; and UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar. I submit for consideration whether we should not send from this gathering--which is the most representative assembly of representatives of the working people of the whole world in the history of the international trade union movement--a message to other representatives and important organizations and institutions, such as the ILO, the Socialist International, the Delhi Six, and others, a message conveying the vital interests and aspirations of the hundreds of millions of working people in the whole world, calling on them to contribute even more decisively to maintaining peace on our planet.

At the same time, all of us who have gathered here should together fight untiringly against a transformation of our planet into a global Hiroshima, and strive to organize big mass and coordinated rallies of the working people for peace, disarmament, and cooperation on all continents and in all regions.

Let us make use of effective arguments about everything that disarmament could bring to the working people if the huge resources were spent not on destructive weapons but on the elimination of poverty, hunger, diseases, illiteracy and, of course, unemployment and other ills of the present which, as the product of imperialism are a shameful blot on human civilization in the 20th century.

Esteemed Comrades, to date the course of the 11th World Trade Union Congress convincingly shows that, despite all the problems and shortcomings of the trade union movement in the world, and despite weak spots in our own work, we are on the upswing and on the correct path. The WFTU has already done much for the working people of the whole world. This congress affirms that we are trying all the time to improve our work and sincerely extend our hand to others for cooperation. At present there have emerged new, unprecedented possibilities of more actively, more dynamically influencing the entire international workers movement. This also creates good prerequisites for expanding the activity of the WFTU and the entire international trade union movement. This, however, is at the same time a challenge for us to take an ever more active part in the processes that have been asserting themselves of late, so that we not only make full use of them in the interest of the working people, but that we also resolutely support them. Only one path leads to success--joining our forces, searching for new possibilities not only for WFTU members and not only for the organizations represented here, but for the entire world trade union movement to contribute jointly to asserting the working people's will.

Let us, all together then, do everything we can to make WFTU an organization which working people comprehend and accept as their own organization, and whose activity interests and benefits them, so that they will participate in it as its active members or close partners.

Comrades, as regards our organization--the CSSR's Revolutionary Trade Union Movement--we are ready to contribute to the achievement of the WFTU's objectives, to fulfilling the conclusions of the 11th World Trade Union Congress. We Czechoslovak trade unionists are marching forward to our 11th All-Trade Union Congress. We are preparing it with the awareness that we have achieved good results, but that the activity of our organization still has many shortcomings. Therefore, we are not satisfied with our work and we are trying to substantially improve it. We consider the decisive thing to be to fulfill the main task with honor, that is, to serve the working people honestly. And even under socialism, that is not an easy task. Of course, our experience also shows that trade unions which pursue that objective and work on the basis of Leninist principles, which associate the overwhelming majority of the working people and are profoundly democratic, are a great political force which effectively safeguards the interests of the working people and successfully grapples with all the problems which life brings and which ensue as a result of developments at home and in the world.

On behalf of the delegation of Czechoslovak trade unionists and our entire organization I submit combat greetings to the participants in the 11th World Trade Union Congress and all trade unionists represented here. I assure you that Czechoslovak trade unionists are ready to fulfill their duties toward the

international trade union movement. Loyal to the principles of proletarian internationalism, of international workers solidarity, we will firmly stand on the side of those who are striving for a better, truly humane life on earth. We will cooperate with all those who are interested in such cooperation, we will safeguard peace and contribute with everything in our power to the success of the struggle for social progress.

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POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PARLIAMENT CRITICIZES 'STAGNATION' IN TOURISM

AU221648 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 19 Sep 86 p 1

["Mat"-signed report: "Committees of the Federal Assembly on Foreign Tourism"]

[Excerpt] Members of the foreign affairs committees of both chambers of the Federal Assembly yesterday heard a report on the results and current situation of foreign tourism in Czechoslovakia. Comments on the extremely critical and frank material that had been submitted in writing were supplied by L. Priecl, deputy minister of foreign trade.

The analysis of the present situation lists 12 main causes for our country's lagging behind the development of foreign tourism in the world and for its steadily declining efficiency. These include, for example, problems with tourist facilities, the quality of services, or shortcomings in the training of qualified personnel. A certain role is also played by the fact that 25 different central agencies and institutions take part in the management of tourism, which plan, supervise, and control their subordinate divisions independently of each other, without regard for non-departmental social and economic interests. The deputy minister said that the analytical material has been prepared for discussion by the Federal Government, which ought to take vigorous measures to overcome stagnation and renew the dynamism of Czechoslovak foreign tourist traffic.

Deputy M. Sutka, who acted as joint reporter for the two committees, said that the problems in the area under debate were a surviving vestige from the period of extensive development. This extensive development is responsible for the fact that our foreign currency proceeds from foreign tourism are lower, by a multiple factor, than those of the absolute majority of other European countries. In the comprehensive discussion that followed, Deputy Sister A. Maresova stressed that the outdated facilities of the West Bohemian spas are accountable for the declining interest of foreign visitors. Deputy Brother St. Toms referred to the need to unite and coordinate the management of tourism. In a final resolution, the deputies noted that Czechoslovak foreign tourism does not yield the expected economic results and that its potentials for the active promotion of Czechoslovakia are not fully appreciated. They recommended that the Ministry of Foreign Trade submit to the two committees a report on the implementation of measures for restoring the dynamism of foreign tourist traffic.

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POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

RUDE PRAVO NEW SERIES ON HUMAN RIGHTS

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 19 September 1986 on page 5 and on 26 September 1986, also on page 5, carries the first two articles in a new series entitled "Fictitious Rights and Genuine Rights." According to an introductory note, the new series will deal with the "specific application of human rights and implementation of civil liberties in contemporary class-divided world."

The series starts with a 3,500-word article by Dalibor Hanes, chairman of the Chamber of Nations of the CSSR Federal Assembly, entitled "Without Myths and Destructions." The second installment is a 1,900-word article by RUDE PRAVO staff journalist Jaroslav Mazal, entitled "Fundamentally Different Viewpoints."

In the first article, Hanes argues that whereas the United States and the West abuse the human rights issue for propaganda aims, the governments of socialist countries do not view human rights as a "cheap catchword," understand the seriousness of the issue, and therefore "implement and enforce them seriously." He claims that the Marxist-Leninist perception of human rights is "much broader and more realistic" than that of bourgeois ideology or any capitalist society and, to prove this point, reviews the pertinent stipulations of the Czechoslovak constitution. In another part of the article, Hanes then dwells on Western violations of human rights, citing, for example, U.S. "state terrorism" as manifested in the air raid on Libya or U.S. support for the Nicaraguan contras, "anti-Afghan reaction," the followers of Pol Pot, and the "anti-Angolan UNITA"; the preparation of star wars and "unrestrained production of nuclear, chemical, and the latest types of destructive conventional weapons"; the Israeli raid on the PLO Headquarters in Tunisia; the U.S. blockade of the Gulf of Sidra; mass unemployment; deteriorating social and health care in the West; or the limited approach to education and culture under capitalism. In conclusion, Hanes discusses the recent international sessions of human rights in Ottawa, Canada, and Bern, Switzerland and contrasts the "constructiveness" of the socialist countries' approach at these conferences with the "absence of serious and generally acceptable proposals" on the Western side. According to Hanes, this was responsible for the failure of the two meetings to adopt a "document that would permit further progress in the mutual relations and cooperation of participants in the conference on security and cooperation in Europe in the humanitarian sphere."

The Mazal article contrasts the socialist and capitalist perceptions of human rights. The Marxist-Leninist concept, he says, proceeding from the

determination of human rights by social and class factors, regards the existence and guarantee of socioeconomic rights as the prerequisite for the application of all the other categories of human rights (political, cultural, and individual rights); all these human rights and liberties matter only if they are anchored in the legislation and ensured by a system of social guarantees.

The "idealistic" capitalist concept of human rights, on the other hand, by its notion of "eternal, natural, and innate" human rights independent of the social system, renders, in fact, all these rights meaningless, because it fails to safeguard them economically and legally. Mazal notes that in contrast to the constitutions of socialist countries, no constitution of a capitalist country contains provisions that would guarantee the implementation of rights and liberties for all its citizens; it is for example meaningless to speak about "free" participation in political life, Mazal points out, if one does not even have a job. Mazal therefore concludes that "only the socialist social system can provide full guarantee of basic human rights."

In his article, Mazal also denounces the motives of the "massive and noisy Western propaganda campaign in defense of human rights," saying that its aim is to "destabilize the moral and political unity of the nations of socialist countries" and to create fertile soil for the formation of opposition to socialism in these countries.

No further processing planned.

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1 November 1986

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

UPBRINGING OF YOUNG GENERATION NEEDS IMPROVEMENT

AU290911 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Sep 86 p 1

[Editorial: "Patriotism of Deeds"]

[Excerpts] The need to unite the tasks of the ideological, ideoeducational, and mass political work with practice is not new. What is new are the conditions--or considering their complexity--the situation in which these tasks are being implemented at present. Central to the entire society's effort is the realization of the strategy to accelerate socioeconomic development. This is nothing else but an expression of the objective trends and needs in the development of a developed socialist society. Precisely this fact requires the implementation of a new style--that means new content, forms, orientation, and effectiveness of ideological work.

One of the most important areas in the ideoeducational activity has also been taking on new importance, that is, patriotic and international upbringing, which concerns not only our ideological front, but also the ideological front of the entire socialist community. Foremost is the need to deepen the upbringing in socialist patriotism and internationalism among all working people, but especially among the youth. The importance of such upbringing is increasing for many reasons, above all because of the worsening ideological confrontation with imperialism.

In ideoeducational work one has to stop thinking of patriotism and internationalism as "dispositive" ["dispozicne"] qualities, that is, as qualities which can crop up only in certain exceptional situations. They have their concrete historical content. They are, indeed they should be, an organic part of our everyday activity. A patriot or an internationalist is a person who makes sacrifices in emergency [zlomove] situations, but also a person who dedicatedly and selflessly gives his energy and abilities in the service of the socialist fatherland. A person becomes a patriot and internationalist by his active, principled, and creative approach to the practice of building socialism, by his contribution to the process of its construction and his readiness to defend its achievements.

Sometimes, and this especially concerns young people, one gets the impression that feelings of socialist patriotism and internationalism have to be "accumulated," and their realization has to wait for a favorable, or desirable opportunity. Such a "transfer into the future" could result in the stagnation

of the entire upbringing process, in a feeling of complacency, a lack of interest, passivity, a lack of appreciation for the earnestness and importance of the patriotic and international upbringing.

Man is not born a patriot and internationalist, man becomes one. That is precisely why the upbringing to socialist patriotism and internationalism is important. It is not and cannot be the concern of the schools alone. It must be a concern of an entire complex of ideoeducational activity: of educational, political, social, and cultural organizations and institutions, but, in particular, of the family and work collectives. Such upbringing must have a rich content, be maximally concrete, purposeful, devoid of any formalism. Its centerpiece must be the active creative participation in building as well as in safeguarding socialism.

Activity, creativity, initiative... These are terms we have been meeting everywhere lately. The frequency of these terms threatens to obscure their true content and sense. However, youth's natural inclination toward new, non-traditional kinds of activity has to be developed purposefully and in a planned manner. Among young people, we frequently come across the view that their initiative is acknowledged, or rather tolerated, as long as it does not go beyond the limits of the routine at school or at the work place. Young people are rightly complaining about the lack of scope for the implementation of their ideas, the self-motivated activities. A whole number of activities organized at schools and educational-upbringing institutions--even within the framework of patriotic and international upbringing--are formalistic only because they are not allowed to disturb the peace and expose to a possible risk those who are responsible for them. In upbringing activity there also exists a deep-rooted or a routine stereotype--to avoid conflicts, avoid "errors" which appurtenant quarters might assess negatively.

And thus, instead of broadening the scope of acquiring life experience--even at the price of mistakes and errors--and instead of "organizing" conflict situations without which one can hardly imagine the development of creative abilities and habits in the process of upbringing--we direct, order, guide, but do not prepare for life. The results of such pseudoeducational work is the lack of independence, lack of creativity and adaptability, moving on well-trodden paths, reliance on the conditioned reflex of habits, and under the protective wings of adults.

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CSO: 2400/21

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ARTICLE DISCUSSES NEED FOR IMPROVEMENT IN IDEOLOGICAL WORK

AU291241 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Sep 86 p 4

[Article by Jan Duracinsky, lecturer of the Slovak Communist Party [CPSL] Central Committee, in the "On a Topical Theoretical Theme" column: "Quality and Efficiency of Ideological Work"]

[Excerpts] After the 16th CPCZ Congress and CPSL Congress we already began to strive more and more to improve the quality of ideological work. After the 17th CPCZ Congress and CPSL Congress this task became even more urgent.

Mechanized Insincerity

A certain definition says that a hackneyed 'phrase' is mechanized insincerity. Even the nicest statement or thought must be adjusted to the topical situation. The essence of using hackneyed phrases lies in copying great truths, while being incapable of applying them to new conditions and new opportunities. But formality is not merely the "prerogative" of the person speaking. Formalism is also perpetrated by a listener who sits disinterestedly through a lecture, or who is incorrectly motivated. Formalism is perpetrated by the organizer of an undertaking even during its preparation, if he selects an unsuitable, untropical theme which does not interest his audience, or if a lecturer is asked to deliver a 20-minute lecture on the current international situation and no time is given for the listeners' questions or discussion. One can be guilty of formalism in the course of an undertaking and after its conclusion (during superficial assessments, or if one does not try to introduce suggestions which emerge during the undertaking into practical life), but also in organizational work, and in the content, form, and method of work.

For instance, it is formalism to repeat criticism of evil doings if the preceding criticism was not followed by at least some correction.

For instance, formalism in management lies in a merely quantitative appraisal of political-educational and upbringing events; in overorganized events; in the saturation of listeners (through several events on one and the same topic, where they attend merely from a sense of duty); in senseless low-standard campaigns which bring no results; in low creativity, or none at all. Formalism lies in an extensive, administrative-bureaucratic and non-pedagogical approach. We are talking about rearing people, while at the same time many people are as afraid of the word "pedagogical" as the devil is of holy water.

The struggle to suppress formalism follows two principles: The first is more effective help from those who should help, and who know how to improve the exchange of experience; and the second is that each participant in the educational-upbringing process must win the battle with himself, the battle against habits, stereotype, insufficient qualification, and so on.

The opposite of formalism is the positive effect of our activity, its impact. They are interlinked: The more formalism we have, the less effect and impact we get. The way to study the extent of the impact is to assess the impact. Theoretically these issues have been discussed and written about many times; but in practice one can still hear echoes of various opinions, from the "most leftist" (vulgarizing) ones, which state that a political-upbringing event should always be immediately followed by a qualitatively different act on part of the person addressed, and up to the "most rightist" (some kind of economic-utilitarian) ones, which totally negate the impact of any upbringing (believing in the automatic upbringing impact of work, in the change of man's mind by material prosperity and so forth).

The transformation of knowledge and new certainties into conviction is a complicated process. A lengthy and demanding process leads from the definition of a goal to a change of practice; it is a process which requires much concentrated effort. One must reject the view that truthful ideology will in the end "fight its way through" and seize control of the minds of the masses.

Currently we are mostly concerned with linking the world outlook with moral and working upbringing as the priority tasks. They give a true picture of the main problems and tasks which it is urgently necessary to resolve. But this does not mean that we need ~~not~~ devote adequate attention to other components of communist upbringing: to physical and paramilitary education, to sports education, to the socialist way of life, to moral and esthetic upbringing. The significance of these tasks was underscored by the 17th CPCZ Congress and CPSL Congress.

Another criterion of the complexity of the impact of ideological work lies in understanding the tasks connected with political-upbringing and educational activities. Since there are many tasks here, they must be arranged according to their importance; a kind of hierarchy of tasks must be established--of main long-term and topical short-term tasks. They must be fulfilled, everywhere and by everybody--but, of course, the intensity, forms and means of accomplishment must be differentiated. In addition to rearing people to have a scientific world outlook, economic upbringing should also not be absent from the plan of any party organization.

The third criterion of complexity lies in an exhaustive approach to the elaboration of individual topics, cycles, and courses. This requires a demanding expert and methodological mastery of the topic and of the educational-upbringing goal. Only thus can one satisfy the demand for a deep analysis of phenomena, for a class-oriented understanding of them, and linking them with practice, for drawing conclusions, for prognoses, and for a person's creative approach to upbringing-educational impulses.

The fourth criterion is the unity of contents and goals for each kind of political-upbringing activity: personal and agitation using examples [nazorna agitace], propagation and propaganda, upbringing and education in school and non-school facilities.

The fifth criterion is the uniform orientation of the mass media for information and propaganda, verbal propaganda, arts, culture, and cultural services.

The sixth criterion lies in the activities of the functionaries and of all components of the National Front, above all the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (ROH) and the Socialist Youth Union. The uniform orientation toward main goals, contents, and tasks must be coordinated with the place and mission of the individual components of the National Front in our political-social system and life. One must exclude formalism and duplication in the fulfillment of political-upbringing tasks.

And, finally, the seventh criterion is the form of planning the ideological and political-upbringing work. The plans must be uniform, and they must express a comprehensive, but differentiated, approach to all tasks of political-upbringing work within the framework of the activities of appropriate party organizations. This means a thorough coordination of tasks, of human and material forces and means.

To Enhance the Energetic Aspect of the Impact

In theory and naturally also in practice, we still have problems with the energetic aspect of our activities. We do have positive examples of this already, above all in the mass media for information and propaganda and among certain propagandists. But I have also read serious articles which place the quality of ideological work on an equal footing with its energetic aspect. Is it meant to be something different, something extra, something more than quality? I believe that an energetic spirit is part of improving quality, that it is a methodological approach. The significance of this term will be more apparent if we contrast it to our continuing defensive attitude--as when we used to constantly defend something against somebody, or explain that truth is not what somebody else claimed, but what we are now claiming.

In all discussions on this problem, the causes of this state of affairs are brought up first. Usually they are narrowed down to two issues: the one of timely information, and the other of the scope and promptness of the information flow from above to the figures engaged in ideological work. Today every one of them has already mastered the truth contained in the theory of informatics and pedagogical psychology--namely, that the first information one gets is the most effective. Any later information pushes us back into defensiveness. The documents of our supreme political agencies formulate tasks in this way, too; the only thing is that they must be better put into practice and by all functionaries whom this concerns.

In reflecting on timely information we communists must nevertheless also be interested in the truthfulness and objectivity of information. It is a mistake to come out with correct information later than the class enemy; but it would be an inexcusable mistake to supply fast but false information. However, this

fact must not be abused to justify a lack of punctuality. In my opinion, it is a small matter that our citizen learns the result of some international sports event 2-3 hours later, from our domestic sports newscast. However, I must be interested in the fact that in this way the citizen gets used to listening to foreign news broadcasts and that this can be the beginning of a harmful stereotype.

An energetic spirit must primarily lie in the concept of political-upbringing activity, in the system based on longevity, permanence, depth, topicality, and comprehensiveness of this activity.

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CSO: 2400/21

POLITICS

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

U.S. PRESSURE ON BRITAIN--The United States is stepping up crude, political pressure on the British opposition Labor Party for its plans to gradually eliminate nuclear weapons in Britain. Our correspondent Zdenek Vilimek has telephoned us this dispatch: U.S. Government officials have begun with a rather astonishing activity to interfere directly in the preelection fight in Britain, which has already begun with full force in the current, traditional autumn political parties' conference. Next Monday, the day the Labor Party conference opens in Blackpool, Caspar Weinberger is to appear in the most watched BBC television current affairs program in order to warn the British public against the allegedly dire consequences the defense policy of the next Labor Government would have both for Britain and the entire NATO. This is not the first attack of this kind. Both Caspar Weinberger and his infamous extreme right-wing deputy, Richard Perle, delivered a number of threats during the past few days aimed at the Labor Party, which by its opposition to nuclear weapons is allegedly bent on destroying NATO. Denis Healy, Labor Party spokesman on foreign affairs, has sharply rejected this pressure, declaring that on the contrary it is the United States who by its plans to militarize space, by its assault on SALT II, and by attacking Libya without conducting prior and responsible discussions with its allies, is undermining NATO unity. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 26 Sep 86 LD]

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CSO: 2400/21

POLITICS

POLAND

PRC RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS DELEGATION VISITS

LD211933 Warsaw PAP in English 1715 GMT 21 Sep 86

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 21--A five-strong delegation of the Office of Religious and Denominational Affairs at China's State Council has been on a visit to Poland between September 15 and 21 following an invitation from Poland's Office for Religious Affairs.

The delegation held talks in the Office for Religious Affairs. The head of the delegation Cao Jinru, deputy director of the Chinese office, delivered a lecture on China's religious policy. Present was China's ambassador to Poland Wang Jinqing. The delegation was received by M.F. Rakowski, deputy Sejm speaker. In the headquarters of the Catholic association Pax, the delegation was received by Zenon Komender, chairman of the association and deputy president of the Council of State.

During a visit to the voivodships of Torun, Skierniewice and Gdansk, the delegation was received by voivodes: S. Trokowski and K. Borczyk and vice-voivode S. Milewski, and met with socio-political activists of these regions. Meetings in Gdansk, a town which maintains partner-like relations with Shanghai, were particularly warm.

The delegation paid a visit to the secretariat of Poland's episcopate, where the Chinese officials were received by Archbishop B. Dabrowski, the general secretary of episcopate. They also conducted talks in the Polish Ecumenical Council. Its vice-chairman Archbishop Bazyli, metropolitan of Warsaw and all Poland of the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church, briefed the guests on the council's work. While in Gdansk, the delegation met with heads of the Muslim denominational union. The Chinese guests also paid a visit to the Academy of Catholic Theology in Warsaw.

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CSO: 2020/10

POLITICS

ROMANIA

REPORT ON CONFERENCE OF JEWISH COMMUNITIES

Bucharest REVISTA CULTULUI MOZAIC in Romanian 15 May 86 pp 1,7

["Conference of the Jewish Communities of the Socialist Republic of Romania"]

[Text] A conference of the Jewish communities of Romania was held in Bucharest on 6 and 7 May 1986. Representatives of 64 of the 68 Jewish communities of the country attended.

Also invited to attend were chairmen of communities that do not belong to the steering committee, people associated to the Federation of Jewish Communities (FCE), many writers, artists, scientists, and members of the Bucharest public life.

Opening the conference proceedings, His Eminence Chief Rabbi Dr Moses Rosen, chairman of the federation, presented a short report on the FCE achievements in the past year and the logical consequence of these impressive achievements: the continuously growing prestige of the FCE at a domestic and foreign level, despite the fact that the number of members of the Jewish communities of Romania has been steadily decreasing. Expressing thanks to all those active within the FCE for their work, His Eminence suggested that the speakers should address the sensitive points emerging in the life of the Jewish community of Romania and propose concrete solutions to them.

In the spirit of His Eminence's inspiring words, FCE Secretary General Attorney Emil Sechter then presented a demographic statistic of the communities existing in Romania and reviewed the main aspects of the Jewish religious and cultural life in facts and figures, stressing the fact--unique in the contemporary Jewish world--that the FCE takes care of all the cemeteries (over 600) in areas where there are no more Jews, for which purpose it has allocated 2 million lei of FCE funds. He highlighted the personality of His Eminence and his contribution to vitalizing our communities and to international Jewish life, the humanitarian understanding and the permanent support granted by the country's leadership and the Department of Religious Affairs with a view to facilitating the FCE's work, the aid received from the Joint (about 80 percent of the social relief funds), and so forth.

The data and figures presented by the chairman of the Bucharest Jewish Community (CEB), Eng Theodor Blumenfeld, presented a complete picture of the

situation of this community that can be cited as a model of methodical and efficient organization. The figures alone tellingly express the excellent operation of the synagogues, mikveh, kosher restaurant, classes of Talmud Torah and Tanach, [Biblical studies], and religious choirs and orchestras, highlighting the large public attracted by weekly conferences on Jewish information, etc.

Examining the activities of the medical sector of the FCE social services, Academician Professor Dr Nicolae Cajal stated that, thanks to the efforts of the entire medical personnel of medical offices, old people's homes, and out-patient care, and to the care offered in a spirit of respect for human dignity--the average life expectation of the members of the Jewish community in Romania has risen to 71 years. Another positive fact recorded in the past year in the FCE medical sector under his leadership was the development of physical therapy services. Similarly, the abuse of medication, which was discussed at last year's expanded session, has been curbed.

In her stirring address, Dr Amalia Rosen emphasized the importance of the moral support extended to a large number of people who live in homes, or are without a family, or are suffering and to which the FCE must provide not only money, food, clothing, and medicines, but also succor and psychological therapy, so that they should not feel lonely and abandoned.

In the same vein, Professor Dr Marcel Saragea depicted aspects of the daily life of the Amalia and Chief Rabbi Dr Moses Rosen Home, stating that the life of the people living in the home (70 percent of them are over 80 years old) has been prolonged thanks not only to five meals a day (three main meals and two snacks) and the exceptional devotion of the medical and care personnel--made up of both Jews and non-Jews--but also to spiritual therapy, countless shows staged at the home by both the Jewish National Theater and by other Bucharest artistic ensembles, social therapy, and physical therapy, all of which have particularly beneficent psychic effects.

First-Rabbi I.M. Maritus and First-Rabbi Dr Ernest Neumann of Timisoara then praised the religious and cultural activities carried out in the Jewish communities of the country under the solicitous, competent, and devoted leadership of His Eminence.

Professor Haim Riemer, chief editor of the REVISTA CULTURAL MOZAIC, highlighted aspects of the magazine's activities and suggested to the communities chairmen to send for publication reports about community life and articles suited to the specific character of the magazine. He also referred to the Talmud Torah classes in the charge of the leaders of our communities.

Dr Simion Cauffman, chairman of the Jewish Community of Iasi, spoke about the major actions and initiatives taken by this community in religious, cultural, and social assistance areas.

The following community chairmen also took the floor, expressing praise for community activities and advancing interesting proposals: Iosef Margulies (Vatra Dornei), Dr N. Kertesz (Cluj-Napoca), Attorney Iancu Zimmel (Craiova), Dr Suhar Abramovici (Cimpulung Moldovenesc), I. Slomo (Timisoara), Attorney

Iosif Brill (Bacau), Attorney Peter Lozneanu (Dorohoi), Iadislau Schretter (Petrosani), Frida Fogel (Sighetul Marmatiei), Iosif Epstein (Birlad), Attorney Haim Grinberg (Falticeni), Iacob Cauffman (Suceava), Dr Eng Leon Leibovici (Brasov), Chitu Sumer (Botosani), Saul Rosenzweig (Pitesti), Secretary Elias Rorlich and Rabbi Pinhas Wasserman (Dorohoi), composer Misu Iancu, historian Alexandru Vianu, and shohet [ritual slaughterer] Gideon Bruckmaier (Bucharest). From their addresses, containing short but illustrative reports on the intensive community activities carried out in their respective towns in the three major areas of interest--religion, cultural, and aid--it emerged that an increasing number of chairmen, secretaries, religious servants, and committee members are making fruitful efforts to involve all the community members in the relevant work, for the general good of the community.

Closing Speech by His Eminence

In his closing speech His Eminence summarized the conclusions of the discussions and outlined guidelines for the committees in their various areas of activity.

His Eminence stressed the sacred duty of the community leaders and officials to attend the synagogue religious services, something that would give them the moral authority to demand the same from the other members.

"Without an active synagogue there can be no community," the Chief Rabbi said, "and without the community its institutions cannot exist. The synagogue is not only a house of prayer, but also a 'Bet Knesset,' meaning a house of assembly, and 'Bet Hamidrash,' or house of learning. It is not enough that I have renovated the synagogues and that they are nicely painted; they must fulfill their mission. The synagogue rallies the entire community, regardless of the degree of religious feeling of its members.

"The chairman of the community and the other leadership members must take care of the Talmud Torah and of educating the young members of the community in the ways of Judaism. However few they may be, no sacrifice is too great to continue to give them something of the millenary source of the Torah.

"We honor," the Chief Rabbi said, "the scientists and men of culture and art who help us spread the values of Jewish ethics and the history of the Jewish people through their conferences and lectures in many provincial communities. We believe that many Jewish intellectuals living in the provinces can join in this noble work. Similarly, we are happy when distinguished non-Jewish men of culture offer to hold such conferences in our communities."

As for social relief, the Chief Rabbi dwelt on general and objective criteria and on the fact that both injustice and favoritism must be avoided. Those helped must rest assured that if they meet the criteria, they will receive their rights.

His Eminence then presented a brief report on the current issues of Judaism, dwelling on the fact that construction has begun on a Carmelite monastery on the site of the former extermination camp at Auschwitz. His Eminence expressed

the bitterness and outrage felt by every Jew at this new attempt to misrepresent the Holocaust.

"It is true that non-Jews were killed at Auschwitz, too, but the overwhelming majority of the victims were incontestably Jews. Two and a half million or more Jews--our brothers and sisters--were exterminated there in unspeakable pain, were slaughtered, gased, and burned alive. Their memory is too sacred to us to accept this profanation. Auschwitz will forever remain synonymous with the idea of Jewish Holocaust."

His Eminence concluded by expressing profound gratitude to Romania's President Mr Nicolae Ceausescu and to the Romanian government for the extensive opportunities we enjoy, just like the other religious denominations, to carry out our religious life and to maintain and develop our religious, cultural, and social relief institutions. The Chief Rabbi stressed the spirit of understanding and the lofty humanism that govern the granting of the right to make Aliya [emigration to Israel] to each Jew that requests it, so that he can be reunited with the builders of Israel, the "Promised Land," the biblical land of our millenary prayers. While at the same time those who stay are permitted to lead a dignified and free Jewish life.

The conference unanimously and enthusiastically endorsed the conclusions of the Chief Rabbi.

The conference voted a resolution whereby the Chief Rabbi was authorized to file a protest against the plan to build a Carmelite monastery on the site of the former Auschwitz camp.

The conference then unanimously reelected His Eminence Chief Rabbi Dr Moses Rosen as chairman of the FCE; the FCE Steering Committee is made up of the following:

1. Mrs Amalia Rosen
2. Attorney Emil Sechter
3. Eng Theodor Blumenfeld
4. Sami Edelstein
5. Academician Professor Dr Nicolae Cajal
6. Professor Dr Marcel Saragea
7. Professor Haim Riemer
8. First-Rabbi I.M. Marilus
9. First-Rabbi Dr Ernest Neumann (Timisoara)
10. Attorney Iosif Brill (Bacau)
11. Professor Dumitru Bughici (composer, Bucharest)
12. Dr Simion Kaufman (Iasi)
13. Dr Suhar Abramovici (Cimpulung Moldovenesc)
14. Dr M. Epstein (Resita)
15. Dr Ernest Fried (Oradea)
16. Professor Edwin Glaser (Bucharest)
17. Ticu Goldstein (journalist, Bucharest)
18. Attorney Haim Grinberg (Falticeni)
19. Attorney Paul Hornstein (Braila)
20. Attorney Herman Iacobsohn (Bucharest)

21. Attorney Leon Iacobsohn (Galati)
22. Misu Iancu (composer, Bucharest)
23. Alexandru Jar (writer, Bucharest)
24. Ludovic Kahan (Baia Mare)
25. Dr Nicolae Kertesz (Cluj-Napoca)
26. Dr Eng Leon Leibovici (Brasov)
27. Tania Lovinescu (writer, Bucharest)
28. Gheorghe Iosub (journalist, Bucharest)
29. Elias Rohrllich (Dorohoi)
30. Attorney Iosub Segal (Roman)
31. I.M. Stefan (journalist, Bucharest)
32. Chitu Sumer (Botosani)
33. Attorney Iancu Zimmel (Craiova)

Cable

To Cardinal Willebrands
Vatican City
Rome

The conference of Jewish communities of Romania, representing 64 communities, held on 6 and 7 May 1986, convey to you a heartfelt appeal to immediately rescind the construction of a Carmelite monastery in the area of the Auschwitz-Birkenau extermination camp.

Close to 150,000 Jews of Romania, members of communities in Northern Transylvanian cities occupied at the time by the Horthyst fascists, were murdered at Auschwitz together with millions of Jews from various other European countries who also suffered the atrocious torture of Auschwitz.

In honor of their memory we appeal to you not to allow such a profanation. The visit of His Sanctity the Pope to the Synagogue of Rome gives us hope that a new page will be turned, a page of fraternity and mutual understanding that can heal the wounds of injustice and persecution. Under no circumstances can we conceive of such relations simultaneously with the building of a Christian monastery on the site of the death camp.

Please leave open the path of fraternity between our churches; it is the voice of goodwill, humanitarianism, and ethics that call upon you to follow it.

With best feelings of fraternity,
Chief Rabbi Dr Moses Rosen, chairman of the Federation of Jewish Communities of Romania

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POLITICS

YUGOSLAVIA

CAUSES OF GROWING SOCIAL INEQUITIES TRACED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jul 86 pp 9-12

[Article by Zoran Lelacic: "Where Do Differences Come From?"; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Inequities in our country are greater than they need be, says Eva Berkovic, author of the most recent study on the causes and extent of social differences in Yugoslavia. This leads to the main dilemma: why the socialist state is lagging behind not only with respect to its own proclamations, but also with respect to real possibilities.

The main wave of domestic tourists in the summer is accompanied by a new wave of detailed discussion about who will spend his vacation where. Catching a breeze on the roof of an apartment house and a deck chair with an umbrella on the beach are the most common centers of attention on this subject. An almost normal question, asked directly or indirectly, is: why can't everyone spend summer vacation in the same way?

Much in this statement remains understated or muddled. First of all, there is the question of whether repeated praise about workers' vacation resorts are a sign of a return to (or at least an attempt at) a time when elite, entitled and commended workers--as a variation on the formula of "workers, peasants and honest intelligentsia"--were rewarded with free sea-side vacations. Thus, to those days when self-management workers as genuine citizens were endlessly grateful for every gift, so grateful and intoxicated with them that it did not even remotely occur to them to try to figure out who was paying for this free vacation and even whether everything that was being taken out of work wages was in fact going to summer vacations and other privileges for those who won them as in a lottery.

In other words, and using a different example, this is the same subject that 2 years ago was referred to as the "social card," an offer that workers vehemently rejected. This is the issue of so-called gross personal income, or the constitutional right of workers to know who is taking part of their total wages, as well as how much and why. (By the way, it remains unexplained what has kept the ardent defenders of the current constitution from giving self-management workers the opportunity to have full insight into the price of the state and of the para-state, and to thus ask at least a few questions).

But to return to the subject of summer vacations, or rather to the social squabbles which continually arise whenever the question is raised why someone cannot go to the sea or for as long as others to spend time at that focal point of the globe (at least on this level, but perhaps on some others as well); why people in the tourism industry overnight become cutthroats and criminals at the beginning of the season (as is then, just like the rest of the year, they do not eat the same state-subsidized bread as the vast majority of Yugoslavs); why self-employed persons turn into egotists when they hide sound currency (as if they are the only ones who do that, and as if the primary worry of the state is not to recapture the people's confidence in its policy in order to eliminate the reasons for the flight of domestic capital abroad); why hatred is incurred against those who discriminate in favor of foreign tourists when officials otherwise rail against producers who do not export but sell their products on the local market; why a similar relationship is developing towards foreigners who inundate "our Adriatic" (those who see in this a good and rare opportunity to unite Yugoslavs should try to find an answer to the question of whether this is what it all comes down to); why, why, why...

Critical Point

These summertime controversies are not, unfortunately, an exception to generally valid rules. Analogous to the well-known joke--that agriculture in socialism has four enemies: summer, fall, winter and spring. Self-management here and now is seemingly on a seasonal, but in essence massive seesaw of ideas between autumn (school expenses, accumulated unpaid bills), winter (personal income from interest and taxes on total personal income), and the rest of the year.

So that there is no mistake, it should be clearly stated right away that this is not an overture to a demand that public debate on social inequities in our country be curbed. Not only would that not be possible, it would not be desirable. In fact, it is generally necessary to explain that it is one of the central issues of a society that in all its symbols subscribes to the equality of its people. What is at stake is the danger of manipulation by people using this issue, the development of what in expert circles is commonly called political awareness. This awareness, Ivo Bicanic of the University of Zagreb wrote a little more than a year ago in *EKONOMSKA POLITIKA*, "described with a table of 'instant slogans,' contends that 'differences-dissimilarities-stratifications-differentiations' have 'gained-accumulated-assumed-attained' 'unacceptable-intolerable-unjustifiable-undesirable' 'proportions-scope-dimensions-magnitude.'

"Whichever combination the reader chooses, he gets a series of words loaded with emotions and passions for which in the past there has not infrequently been a certain longing. However, some combinations from the table appear to us lately to be a 'realistic portrait' of economic inequities. This is offered by newspapers and magazines, as well as by politicians of various socio-political organizations and various municipalities, municipal organizations, provinces, republics and the federal government."

All of the preceding has not simply been for the sake of saying how, amidst more or less the same material and ideological-political developments, more

light has nonetheless been focused on this by professional journalism and that the newest book in this area is the book by Eva Berkovic. The completed section of this ("Social Inequities in Yugoslavia," published by EKONOMIKA and the Economic Institute in Belgrade) reads as follows: "The critical moment has arisen to demand that the recognition of social inequities must no longer be passed over in their true brilliance and complete form. Every simplification, conscious and unconscious resistance to the uncovering of their true origins and to eventual definition of when equity and aspirations towards it signify an egalitarian orientation and an obstacle to progress, but which are nonetheless aspects of inequity that are inconsistent with socialism, means an absence of realism for this exceptionally sensitive and complex socioeconomic and political problem."

There is no direct explanation for why the present is characterized as a critical time. However, two warnings, two fears, emerge from the entire book. The first is a result of the recognition that the existing differences in our country exceed the level that is generally considered unavoidable, that the inequities are greater than is necessary in view of achieved development and societal wealth. The second one is probably the result of the experience, and not only in Yugoslavia, that as a rule crisis situations are a good environment for establishing a system that does not affect the causes of the crisis and also does not keep pace with the democratization of the society in crisis. Viewed from this perspective, it is probable that many champions of social equity from 20 years ago will now have a different evaluation of the victory at that time that amounted to the abrogation of the rights of self-management workers to assess independently and responsibly whether and how many new jobs should be opened up, and to the disruption of the attempts that had been made up then not to consume more than was produced through a policy of anticipated, beneficial and analogous anti-interest for forcing this or that industry to build workers' housing, solidarity housing, and through any amount of other state intervention in economic developments and through different approaches, which must be paid for now.

Social inequity exists when initial opportunities are not the same for each individual. This is Eva Berkovic's basic approach, which she defends and justifies in an interview as the only certain obstacle to egalitarianism and similar simplification, not only because this reduces the chances of a good solution, but also because it generally involves a partitioning into even greater social differences than those that existed when this method began its supposed reduction. This is also the approach of the majority of Yugoslav experts conducting research on this subject. As an illustration, Marijan Korosic says in a condensed interpretation of his study on economic inequities: "The opportunities of the people have never been and will never be equal, but it is important that the individual get an equal start. Society must guarantee equal opportunity in education, the advancement of health services, in culture, equal opportunity for persons who are motivated to increase their capabilities. This is achieved in part by the efforts of enterprises. But of crucial importance are the efforts by society to eliminate all monopolistic barriers and by organizations to raise the educational, health and cultural level of individuals. If people are free to create an equal initial position for increasing their competence in making decisions about themselves and their families, there is

reason to assume that they will gladly accept such a society, because it is natural for them to take care of themselves. Assuming an equal initial position, it can even be deemed acceptable that there be conflict in the marketplace."

Of course, there are social differences outside the economic realm, although other differences, such as the distribution of social status and political power, normally find economic expression. In view of the experts' assessment that the differences are greater than necessary at the moment, the first task is to uncover the reasons for this situation.

Roots

In contrast to those who see the reason for the stratification of Yugoslav society in the commodity character of the system, Korosic advances the thesis that a consistent commodity-based monetary system would permit a reduction of differences to the unavoidable. The arguments are that: in the production of commodities, each subject retains freedom and independence with respect to others and, at the same time, promotes his interests. Thus, the market exchanges the objectively evaluated work of self-management workers, and the conditions and opportunities are created for control over the entire process of social reproduction. At the same time, at the present stage in the development of civilization there is no known mechanism that provides a more objective evaluation of everyone's work from the market.

It is true that economists agree that market forces, viewed in basic, purely economic terms, increase differences in society. However, since a comparison of economic differences in countries with a market economy with those countries that have proclaimed that rejection of the market economy predominates does not favor the latter, it is possible to ask which way opens up opportunities for reducing social inequities, or at what pace and at what price--on the whole as well as for individual strata of society.

Using a current topic, political interest, as an example, this question amounts to the following: why does the government in a socialist country, increasing the difference between the interest rate and inflation, decide in favor of even greater expropriation of the population, and does so not only through acts that are harmful, but also despite all the material interests that indicate that this is a losing situation? Will increased loss make anyone's situation easier in view of the longer road ahead, or will this mean a thinning of the numbers of those who, by saving national currency, have proclaimed their trust in official policy and its implementers? After all, under orders from the previous federal government, a group of experts analyzed the financial state of the economy and the banks. This analysis, in addition to the main finding that bank losses at the beginning of the year were nearly \$15 billion, established that citizens in some places lost in comparison with the banks (savings in dinars), in some places gained (foreign currency savings and credits), but that the final outcome was--a loss. Interest on foreign currency savings, especially unlimited savings, is high, according to this study group, at the same time expressing an extremely symptomatic judgment: the level of interest rates is not decisive for the level of savings; what is decisive is the dependability of the depositors who are not consolidated by a continual campaign against them, and thus against the wavering of official policy.

What now? Should we cite all the examples and dimensions of social inequities in our country and swell upon the repugnance to and transitory decline of differences, or focus our main attention on causes? Should we stop at the realization that the Old City district of Belgrade, according to a 1979 survey, has 1,883 apartments in unsanitary locations, that nearly 28 percent of these apartments have no water, and that about 70 percent lack bathrooms. (For those less well-informed it should be noted that this is one of the center city districts in Belgrade and that many things are located within, from the Federal and City Assembly buildings, the President of the Republic and city party building to the main commercial and pedestrian section of the city, the Serbian Academy of Sciences, the Patriarchate with the Cathedral and several embassies). Thus, should we stop at this fact, or should we look for the causes of the housing crisis, no doubt as components of the economic and social crisis?

Range of Privilege

If we proceed in this other direction, we again arrive at a crossroads. Should we stop at and be satisfied with the assertion that the blame lies with the decision in favor of a system of directed housing construction, directed education and many other similar orientations, or should we look for the roots of this policy? Of course, in this quest it would be inadmissible to overlook all the vital and, from the look of things, "lateral" consequences. Housing is not only a roof over one's head, Eva Berkovic told NIN, and it is not only a place where children study with a book on their knees or under normal working conditions; instead, it is a place where someone is born to parents traumatized because of the conditions in which the children are born--as well as a place that leaves someone without provisions for the child.

Similar to this is Korisic's assessment that school reform in the system of directed education has resulted in "the subordination of schools to factories (in a post-industrial society, the factory conforms to the school), to the proletarianization of youth (as a necessary consequence of the industrialization of school), to a restriction of free choice of school, profession and workers' organization (instead of offering the opportunity for multiple choices and more qualitative learning), to the deprofessionalization of the educated, the negation of professions and of the right to a profession." Industrial Marxism, as Veljko Rus calls this trend in school reform, attempts to identify society with an industrial society in which the factory represents the dominant organizational model.

The consequences are already evident. The first step in the chronicles of the generation that is graduating from school today is that they are qualitatively less well-educated than their parents. Unemployment is an expression not only of insufficient economic activity, but also of an irresponsible education structure with respect to the needs of the economy. Differentiation among young people is increasing. There is regional discrimination by young people, in part because of incomplete and unequal regional educational systems. And this is detrimental to society.

Tainted History

If all of this is taken into account, and if one considers the ultimate cause, one must arrive at the issue that is generally known as "privileges." This does an injustice to everything that should be said about the form and scope of social inequities in our country--about everything that results from personal and family incomes, about agricultural revenues, about the "gray" economy, about child labor and protection and especially about differences in health care. The latter is a particularly sensitive subject, for understandable reasons, but nonetheless an unsolvable one as long as the essential connection between differences in the hospital waiting room and differences at any other official reception window are recognized. This connection is not based on any conspiracy by window receptionists in state and nationalized institutions. Their power, even if this is not more than occasional rudeness, results from taking their cue from others. This protest against bureaucracy and bureaucratism makes no sense, even if expressed to political spokesmen, as long as there is no analysis of the societal-party leadership's contribution to it. It is a question of group and individual privileges that, in Eva Berkovic's opinion could not have developed in the immediate postwar period, and also cannot, of course, be attributed to all soldiers in the war: if the initial privileges had disappeared with time, that would represent a small taint on history; however, they have not only endured, but spread.

When in power, communists are not people of a special mould. To a certain extent, that could be the inscription above the following quotation from Eva Berkovic's book: "The elimination or curtailment of a number of privileges which has been carried out in recent years--done, incidentally amidst quite a bit of resistance--will represent a reduction of some existing inequities and savings of resources, but not to the same extent an end to various types of inequities that have already been created. The reason for this lies precisely in the strongest societal criticism of privileges from the standpoint of inequities--in the increasing estrangement of these benefits from a well-founded justification for their existence, the assurance of greater efficiency in one's job performance, provided, of course, that one accepts this explanation for the existence of any privileges whatsoever.

"In other words, privileges have very quickly outgrown their connection to the mere performance of a function, the nature of which demands special circumstances, and have increasingly come to solve the economic and social problems of members of the family of functionaries, including the future prospects of children and even grandchildren. This is most of all the case with housing and employment. In this way, large apartments, and often spacious country houses, are exchanged for two or even three apartments. Or, on the other hand, the tenant's right to public housing assigned on the basis of function is reassigned to some member of the family after a transfer to a new job in another city, or in some third way--the children of functionaries have up to now rarely, or disproportionately more rarely, been faced with the worry of the majority of young people: how to get a roof over their head.

"Things are similar in the case of the most existential question of every young person--employment, where nepotism is clearly evident. The children of

functionaries not only find work easily or more easily as a rule they have often been offered lucrative or attractive jobs without any real competition. And the effect of other privileges has been more or less instrumental in contributing to the creation of a better starting position for these children with respect to others. The steps undertaken ought to halt the process of the reproduction of advantages which, carried over into the next generation, have the sweet taste of privilege by birth, and which there is a desire to eliminate, on the one hand, while on the other hand they are turning up in places where this can least be expected."

What can be said at the end of this rough overview of social inequities in our country, other than to say that multiple surveys of the situation are insufficient and that the segment about privileges should be expanded in at least several directions? One of these involves unintentional, well-meaning privileges. It is proper that living and working conditions be suited to the people, even if the "repeat offense" of the results of experiments that have been conducted are catastrophic. It is proper that erroneous laws are passed, even though the level of civilization has long viewed a law as a synonym for something that is good for at least the majority of the population. Thus, what is at stake here is not first and foremost functionaries' wages, but rather their number and performance for any amount of income. It is a question of the authorities' legitimacy, of whether or not they are acting for the good of the population.

[Box, p 11]

Eva Berkovic, from "Social Inequities in Yugoslavia:" Origin of Students

"The significance of taking steps as early as before the beginning of secondary school to prevent social differentiation in the education process is addressed by the study carried out by a group of authors at the initiative of the Chancellor's Office of Belgrade University. Based on data from every department for the class of 1984/85, candidates for admission were in terms of social origins (expressed as the educational level of their parents) an already highly select group. Thus, 40 percent of the general male population in Serbia did not complete elementary school, while 3.7 percent of the registered students at the university came from these families. The same conclusion is reached through an analysis of data concerning the education of the candidates' mothers. Similar findings were obtained through research on the structure of candidates according to the father's work for the five departments of the class of 1982/83. According to these figures, the children of farmers make up 6.3 percent, those of unskilled and semi-skilled workers 6.1 percent, with a relatively large number of children of white-collar workers (24.5 percent) and specialists with a university education (34.4 percent).

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